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ABSTRACT

One of a series of resources for teaching sociology at the postsecondary level, this volume contains syllabi and a bibliography of instructional materials for courses in political sociology. Material is arranged in four sections. Section 1, an introduction, provides an overview of the American Sociological Association Teaching Resources Center, a description of the syllabi and materials selection procedure for this volume, and a discussion of plans for revision of the resource book. Section 2 contains over 50 course syllabi, arranged according to the following categories: introductory and survey courses; the development of the concepts of political sociology, power, power bases, and opposition to power holders; particular societies or areas; comparative political sociology; the state, bureaucracy, and policy making; and change and revolution. Syllabi generally contain the following information: instructor and university, course overview, schedule of class topics and assignments, and a reading list. Section 3 contains the Oxford University reading list and examination in political sociology. The reading list includes over 250 citations listed under categories of introductory and general texts, classical texts and commentaries, political power, social bases of political conflict and party competition, relations between state and society, revolutions, and political attitudes. The examination contains 12 essay questions. A final section lists publication contributors. (LP)

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American Sociological Association

Resource Materials for Teaching

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PART I.

SYLLABI AND INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS FOR COURSES IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Compiled and edited by

Frederick D. Weil
University of Chicago
and
Betty A. Dobratz
Iowa State University

for the ASA Section on Political Sociology

SO015 967

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PART II. BIBLIOGRAPHY is also available from the ASA Teaching Resources Center

Documents distributed by the ASA Teaching Resources Center are not intended to represent the "official position" of the American Sociological Association. Instead, they constitute a medium by which colleagues may communicate with each other to improve the teaching of sociology at the undergraduate and graduate levels.

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A SYLLABUS COLLECTION AND BASIC BIBLIOGRAPHY IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Introduction

This collection of course syllabi and bibliography represents one of the initial activities of the new ASA Section on Political Sociology. At a meeting at the 1983 ASA Meetings in Detroit it was decided that such a collection would help us achieve an early goal: to remind ourselves and our colleagues of the diversity and depth of scholarship and research in this field. For while the Section is new, the field is not - in many ways its origins coincide with or antedate those of Sociology itself. And if it has received less recognition than one might expect in past years, it is clear from the following materials that its practitioners have been active: the growth of the Section to one of the two or three largest in the ASA in its first year testifies to this healthy existence. We hope that this collection will help political sociology maintain its higher level of recognition among sociologists, support its internal diversity, and help those working in the field build on and expand established research.

* * *

There are two parts to this collection, a set of course syllabi and a basic bibliography. The former will, of course, be of use in designing courses, but the collection as a whole is also intended as an aid and background for research in the area.

Beginning in September 1983, we placed notices in Footnotes and the Journal of Political and Military Sociology, asking for contributions to this collection. The response from these sources over several months was moderate, and we supplemented it by direct requests to a number of departments and active scholars in the field. We also consulted the list of reviewers for political sociology from the American Journal of Sociology, and sent requests to many of them: this turned out to have been the most productive source of materials.

The Syllabi

Altogether, we received 80 contributions of materials, of which 66 were course syllabi, and the remainder were bibliographical materials. In a couple cases, we received surprising responses from prominent political sociologists, who informed us that they actually did not teach in this area; and in at least one case, a potential contributor from whom we very much wanted materials informed us that he was unable to assemble his syllabi because he would be out of the country. The contributions we did recieve were generally of a very high quality, and it was difficult to choose which should be included. We wish to thank all those who sent us materials, whether they were included or not.

Our primary criteria for selection were comprehensiveness and coverage (and non-repetition) of the major aspects of the field. We were somewhat less inclined to include streamlined courses, for two reasons. First, it should always be possible to build a shorter course out of extensive materials than the other way around. And second, by its character, political sociology is fairly demanding of the empirical and historical background of the student, and the best courses seem to be those which offer the student a good deal of background material to consult in pursuing his or her interests. In the end, we chose to include 34 syllabi, which we feel gives a good overview of the breadth and depth of the field.

The Teaching Resources Center of the ASA encouraged us to include additional course materials besides the reading lists, but although we requested them, we did not often get them. Some of the syllabi have guidance or discussion questions built into them, and a few have programatic introductions, but we did not receive many exams or paper topics. We have included discussion questions and an exam in some of our own syllabi.

The syllabi cannot be strictly categorized since most attempt to cover a range of topics, especially the introductory or survey courses. They have nevertheless been grouped in a rough manner in order to help the reader find his or her area of interest. The topics are as follows:

Syllabi on Political Sociology

1. Introductory and survey courses

   - Ronald Aminzade, Madison, "Political Sociology"
   - Goste Esping-Andersen, Harvard, "Political Sociology"
   - Seymour Martin Lipset, Stanford, "Class and Politics"
   - Seymour Martin Lipset, Stanford, "Seminar: Topics in Political Sociology"
   - John Meyer, Stanford, "Politics and Society"
   - Alessandro Pizzorno, Harvard, "Survey Course in Political Sociology"

2. The development of concepts of political sociology

   - Irving Louis Horowitz, Rutgers, "Political Sociology - The Classical Tradition"
   - Allan Silver, Columbia, "Political Sociology: Traditions and Concepts" (note its companion course below)

3. Power, the bases of power, and opposition to power-holders

   - Betty A. Dobratz, Iowa State, "Class, Power, and Elites" (taught at Morehead State)
   - William A. Gamson, Boston College, "Political Sociology"
   - David Knoke, Indiana, "Seminar in Political Sociology"
   - Theda Skocpol, Chicago, "Sociology of Protest Movements" (taught at Harvard)
   - David Stark, Duke, "The Use and Abuse of Power"

4. Particular societies or areas

   - Richard F. Hamilton, McGill, "Society and Politics of Germany"
   - Morris Janowitz, Chicago, "Political Sociology: The United States as a Socio-Political System"
   - Whitney Pope, Indiana, "Sociology of American Political Behavior"
   - David Stark, Duke, "Socialist Societies"

Syllabi on Political Sociology, cont.

5. Comparative political sociology: regime form, political culture, and political action

   - Ted Robert Gurr, Northwestern, "Seminar on Conflict within Nations: Theory and Research"
   - Seymour Martin Lipset, Stanford, "Seminar: Comparative Studies of Politics and Society"
   - Robert D. Putnam and Jorge Dominguez, Harvard, "Field Seminar in Comparative Politics"
   - Allan Silver, Columbia, "Political Sociology: Comparisons of Institutions and Processes" (note its companion course above)
   - Alfred Stepan, Yale, "Comparative Politics"
   - Frederick D. Weil, Chicago, "Seminar: Legitimacy and Breakdown of Liberal Democracy"
   - Harold L. Wilensky, Berkeley, "Comparative Political Economy"

6. The State, bureaucracy, and policy-making

   - Terry N. Clark, Chicago, "Urban Structure and Decision-Making"
   - Terry N. Clark, Chicago, "Urban Policy Analysis"
   - Whitney Pope, Indiana, "Comparative Sociological Analysis of Political Systems: the Modern State"
   - James Q. Wilson, Harvard, "Bureaucracy"
   - Eric Olin Wright, Wisconsin, "Seminar on the Theory of the State"

7. Change and revolution

   - Theda Skocpol, Chicago, "Revolutions in the Modern World"
   - David Stark, Duke, "Modern Revolutions"
   - Charles Tilly, Michigan, "Large-Scale Political Transformations"
   - Frederick D. Weil, Chicago, "Social Structure and Change"

It would be tempting to suggest a somewhat different categorization into three basic thematic approaches to the study of political sociology. But such a classification of syllabi might have seemed overly subjective on our part and might have raised even more justifiable objections, since many tend to straddle categories.

The first approach focuses on the holding of power in society, and tends to minimize the capacity of the state and its institutions to exercise power independently of power-holding groups. Most forms of Marxism, of course, traditionally held this view; but so did important strands of liberal political economy from which Marxism partly derived. Perhaps the strongest American sources of this approach stemmed from left populist orientations, appropriated European elitist theories (e.g., Michels and Mosca), and have most recently passed through the domestic New Left. The syllabi which might fit this category best include those by Aminzade, Dobratz, Gamson, Knoke, Pope, and Wright.

A second approach, in some ways diametrically opposed to the first, concentrates on the forms of domination, especially the state, and insists that such political power is largely autonomous. This is most centrally the Weberian - and earlier, the legal-constitutional - tradition, but a large number of Marxists have recently begun to move in this direction. The insistence of these scholars on the autonomy of the political realm has created renewed interest in the operation of state agencies, in organizational studies, and in research on social (or in this case, political) networks. Examples of this approach might include syllabi by Esping-Anderson, Pizzorno, Skocpol, Stark, and Wilson.

Finally, the third approach asks less which groups hold power and how power is exercised (although these are considered basic data), but rather, how groups interact as they compete for power: that is, what form political life takes. This approach is partly concerned with the classification of regime-forms - a question which can be traced in modern times to Montesquieu and Tocqueville, and to the ancients as well - and more deeply with questions of political culture, forms of participation, and the style of conflict resolution. Scholars who focus directly on power sometimes suggest that this third approach is merely apologetics or obfuscation for the exercise of power - in America as a modified civics or pluralist ideology - but recent cross-national and over-time research has revealed variations in forms of political life which link them to social and political institutions in sometimes unexpected ways. Syllabi in this third category might include those by Gurr, Janowitz, Lipset, Putnam and Dominguez, Silver, Weil, and Wilensky.

The Bibliographies

In our call for materials on political sociology, we requested references for a bibliography as well as course materials. We received a number of excellent collections of citations and previous bibliographies, as well as the publications sections from several scholars' vitae. Among the most important of the earlier bibliographies from which we drew materials are: David Knoke's own on-line list of references, the bibliography from George Kourvetaris and Betty Dobratz's forthcoming manuscript, "Political Sociology: An Overview for the 1980s," the bibliography from Edward Laumann and David Knoke's paper, "Social Network Theory" (1983), Charles Tilly's annotated "Selected Readings on Political Change" (1983), James and Patricia Wood and Wing-Ghe's "Political Sociology Bibliography" (Monticello, IL: Vance Bibliographies, 1979), and the very extensive collections in Allen Kornberg, ed., Political Science Reading Lists and Course Outlines, vol. 7, "Comparative Politics" and vol. 8, "Area Studies in Comparative Politics" (Durham, NC: Eno River Press, 1981), especially the "Yale University Graduate Examination Reading Lists" included in these collections. Finally, just as we were concluding the preparation of our own bibliography, we received copies of the Oxford University "Reading List in Political Sociology," independently from Steven Lukes and Frank Parkin. This last bibliography is so good - and so compact - that it is included whole in the present collection.

The selection criteria for our own bibliography were as follows: We concentrated on recent works which cover a wide variety of areas in political sociology, and the bibliography is broken down into a number of categories to reflect this diversity and aid the reader. There are virtually no "classical" writers included, since we assume readers should be able to find references to them, and we have generally excluded anything from before 1945 and tried to concentrate on the last twenty years. We included important works known directly to us, as well as entries which figured prominently or were directly indicated by the compilers in the lists we consulted. In general, we probably used no more than one-fifth of the entries in these lists.

One interesting feature of the bibliography is the amount of concrete, non-abstract work in the realms of both theory and empirical research. In this respect, most political sociologists seem to follow Weber's or Tocqueville's methodology rather than Marx's (at least in his Hegelian mode) or Parsons': research tends to be inductive rather than deductive, and theory itself tends to be comparative and historical and to aim at constructing ideal types of structural relationships. The result, one might argue, is an enormous amount of analysis and useable information about the world, and one suspects that this orientation helps political sociology maintain its vigor even when it receives less institutional support than usual.

Future Revision and Obtaining a Machine-Readable Bibliography

This document, except for the syllabi sent by the contributors was prepared primarily on a personal computer, and the bibliography was processed with a data base program. Thus, it will be possible to maintain and update the bibliography: readers are requested to send any corrections or additions to Frederick Weil, and if there is sufficient interest, an updated bibliography can be produced in several years. It will also be possible to provide machine-readable copies of this bibliography for input into reader's own systems. The editor will make floppy disks with several versions or formats of the bibliography available through the ASA. However, the editor absolutely cannot and will not honor any requests directly to him for these data, especially not for any further data preparation: it is simply too much work and cannot at present be delegated.

- Frederick D. Weil
Chicago, June 1984

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Ronald Aminzade
Office: 8115 Social Science
Office Hours: Tuesday, 10:00-12:00
University of Wisconsin, Madison

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Sociology 624
Tuesday, Thursday 8:25-9:40

Course Content: This course will explore a wide variety of topics in political sociology, including the distribution of power in the contemporary United States, the nature and social origins of capitalist democracies, the relationship between class structure and political behavior, the origins of bureaucracy, and the dynamics of political change. The readings and lectures will focus upon Weberian and Marxist perspectives on power, the state, political parties, and political change.

Requirements: All participants are expected to read the required readings for the week. The supplementary readings are designed to help those who wish to further pursue a particular issue and for those responsible for class presentations of the discussion questions listed below. Grades for the course will be based upon: 1) a seven to ten page take-home mid-term exam that will be distributed on Thursday, March 1st and is due on Thursday, March 8th; 2) a seven to ten page essay due on Thursday, May 10th; essay questions will be distributed on May 3rd; 3) a three to five page group paper and presentation based on one of the discussion questions listed below, due on the Tuesday before the discussion.

Readings: The seven required books are available at the University Bookstore, 711 State Street. All required readings for the course are on reserve at the Helen C. White Library. Students are encouraged to purchase whatever books they plan to buy fairly early in the semester since the bookstore cannot keep a large inventory of unsold texts for very long. The recommended readings are available at the library or from the instructor. A package of the twenty-one required articles is available from Kinko's, 620 University Avenue.

Aminzade
Political Sociology

CLASS SCHEDULE

Jan. 24th	Introduction: What is Political Sociology?

I. The Study of Power

Jan. 26th	Power and Interests
Jan. 31st	The Pluralist Perspective
Feb. 2nd	The Elitist Perspective
Feb. 7th	The Marxist View
Feb. 9th	The Politics of the U.S. Capitalist Class

II. Theories of the State

Feb. 14th	Weber's Theory of the State
Feb. 16th	Class, Status, and Politics
Feb. 21st	The Marxist Theory of the State
Feb. 23rd	The Structuralist-Instrumentalist Debate

III. Democracy, Political Parties, and Elections

Feb. 28th	Theories of Democracy
March 1st	The Social Origins of Capitalist Democracies
March 6th	Parties and Party Systems
March 8th	The U.S. Party System
March 13th	Political Participation and Voting Behavior in Western Capitalist Democracies
March 15th	Discussion: Critical Realignments and the Future of U.S. Electoral Politics

IV. Bureaucracy and Democracy

March 27th	The Weberian Theory of Bureaucracy
March 29th	The Marxist Theory of Bureaucracy
April 3rd	The Iron Law of Oligarchy
April 5th	Discussion: Bureaucracy and Democracy

CLASS SCHEDULE (continued)

V. Social Movements, Revolution, and Social Change

April 10th	The Origins of Social Movements
April 12th	Free Riders and Social Movements
April 17th	Organization and Mobilization
April 19th	Tactics & Strategies of Social Movements
April 24th	Guest: Rob Kleidman, "The Nuclear Freeze Campaign and Social Movement Theory"
April 26th	Discussion: The New Populism and Strategies for Social Change
May 1st	Theories of Revolution
May 3rd	States and Revolution
May 8th	Vanguard Parties and Social Change
May 10th	Discussion: Reform or Revolution?

Aminzade
Political Sociology

The following required books are available at the University Bookstore:

1- G. William Domhoff, Who Rules America Now? (Prentice Hall, 1983).

2- Ralph Miliband, Marxism and Politics (Oxford University Press, 1977).

3- Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, updated edition (Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1981).

4- Reinhard Bendix, Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait (Doubleday Anchor Books, 1962).

5- Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship & Democracy (Beacon Press, 1966).

6- Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolution (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1979).

7- Francis Piven & Richard Cloward, Poor Peoples' Movements (Pantheon Books, 1977).

The following twenty-one required articles are on reserve at the Helen C. White Library and available in a package from Kinkos, 620 University Avenue.

1- Franz Neumann, "Approaches to the Study of Political Power," in Frank Lindenfeld (ed.), Reader in Political Sociology (Funk & Wagnalls, 1968): 38-53.

2- Matthew Crenson, "Nonissues in City Politics: The Case of Air Pollution," in M. Surkin & A. Wolfe, eds., An End to Political Science (Basic Books, 1970): 144-66.

3- Michael Useem, "Business and politics in the United States and the United Kingdom," Theory and Society 12, #3 (1983): 281-308.

4- David Gold, Clarence Lo, & Erik Wright, "Recent Developments in Marxist Theories of the State," Monthly Review 27 (Oct.-Nov. 1975): 29-43, 36-51.

5- Fred Block, "The Ruling Class Does Not Rule: Notes on the Marxist Theory of the State," Socialist Revolution 7 (1977): 6-28.

6- Theda Skocpol, "Political Response to Capitalist Crisis: Neo-Marxist Theories of the State and the Case of the New Deal," Politics and Society 10, #2 (1980): 155-201.

7- Goran Therborn, "The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy," New Left Review (May-June, 1977): 3-41.

8- Martin Shefter, "Party, Bureaucracy, and Political Change in the United States," in Louis Maisel & Joseph Cooper (eds.), Political Parties: Development and Decay (Sage, Beverly Hills, 1978): 211-265.

9- Walter Dean Burnham, "The 1980 Election: Realignment, Reaction, or What?" in T. Ferguson and Joel Rogers (eds.), The Hidden Election (Pantheon, 1981) 98-140.

10-Jean Cohen, "Max Weber and the Dynamics of Rationalized Domination," Telos #14 (1972): 63-86.

11-Paul Goldman, "Sociologists and the Study of Bureaucracy: A Critique of Ideology and Practice," The Insurgent Sociologist 8, #1 (Winter, 1978): 21-30.

12-Nancy DiTomaso, "Class Politics and Public Bureaucracy: The U.S. Department of Labor," in M. Zeitlin (ed.), Classes, Class Conflict, and the State (Winthrop, 1980): 135-152.

13-Noberto Bobbio, "Are There Alternatives to Representative Democracy?" Telos #35 (1978): 17-30.

14-Arthur D. Larson, "Representative Bureaucracy and Administrative Responsibility: A Reassessment" in Joseph Uveges (ed.) The Dimensions of Public Administration, 2nd edition (Holbrook Press, 1975): 543-553.

15-Carmen Sirianni, "Production and Power in a Classless Society: A Critical Analysis of the Utopian Dimensions of Marxist Theory," Socialist Review #59 (Sept.-Oct. 1981): 32-82.

16-J. Craig Jenkins, "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements," Annual Review of Sociology 9 (1983): 527-553.

17-Bruce Fireman & William A. Gamson, "Utilitarian Logic in the Resource Mobilization Perspective" in Mayer Zald & John McCarthy (eds.), The Dynamics of Social Movements (Winthrop Publishers, 1979): 8-44.

18-Harvey Molotch, "Media and Movements", in Mayer Zald & John McCarthy (eds.) The Dynamics of Social Movements (Winthrop Publishers, 1979): 71-93.

19-Harry Boyte, "Building the Democratic Movement: Prospects for a Socialist Renaissance" Socialist Review #40-41 (July-October, 1978): 17-41.

20-Mike Davis, "Socialist Renaissance or Populist Mirage?: A Reply to Harry Boyte," Socialist Review #40-41 (July-October, 1978): 53-63.

21-Peter Drier, "The Case for Transitional Reform", Social Policy (January-February, 1979): 5-18.

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DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1- March 15th: Did the election of Ronald Reagan represent a critical realignment of American parties and politics that has been taking shape during the past two decades? What recent changes in the character of the American party system or in voter attitudes and beliefs help to account for Reagan's victory? What are the prospects for the formation of a multi-party political system in the U.S. during the next decade?

2- April 5th: Discuss and evaluate the following statement: The leaders and organizers of social movements and political parties aren't usually power hungry. Nor is the concentration of power in the hands of movement or party leaders a structural prerequisite for effective collective action. Yet most social movements and political parties are dominated by their leaders. The basic source of oligarchy within political organizations is the indifference and the incompetance of the rank and file. Pressing demands of everyday life weigh too heavily on ordinary people for them to actively participate in shaping the theory, strategy, or tactics of collective action. People may be attracted to spectacular events (organized by others) and intoxicated by charismatic orators, but, by and large, people are bored by nitty gritty organizational work. During those brief and dramatic moments when the "masses" do take a serious interest in controlling their own collective action, they remain too politically unsophisticated to effectively do so. Real internal democracy is only possible within parties and movements whose constituents are well educated and have a considerable amount of free time. Unless and until the masses have more education and free time, social movements and political parties will be bureaucratically dominated by leaders rather than democratically organized.

You may draw evidence from any social movement or political party that you are familiar with in your effort to evaluate this statement.

3- April 26th: What are the underlying assumptions (regarding class alliances and state power) of the New Populist strategy of change? How does such a strategy differ from a Marxist strategy? Critically evaluate the problems and potentialities of the New Populist strategy.

4- May 10th: Discuss the claim that only an electoral/parliamentary strategy of acquiring state power can insure the development of a democratic rather than a bureaucratic form of socialism. What assumptions does such a strategy make about the nature of the state under advanced capitalism? What are the major obstacles to and pitfalls of such an electoral strategy? What are the conditions under which such a strategy is likely to produce more than liberal reforms of capitalism?

Aminzade
Political Sociology

Lecture Schedule and Readings

Jan. 24-26 What is Political Sociology?
Power and Interests

Required:

1- S.M. Lipset, "The Sociology of Politics," in Political Man: 1-24.
2- Franz Neumann, "Approaches to the Study of Political Power," in F. Lindenfeld, ed., Reader in Political Sociology (Funk & Wagnalls, 1968): 38-53.
3- Mathew Crenson, "Nonissues in City Politics: The Case of Air Pollution," An End to Political Science: 144-66.

Recommended:

Goerge Kourvetaris & Betty Dobratz, "The State and Development of Political Sociology," in G. Kourvetaris & B. Dobratz, Political Sociology: Readings in Research & Theory (Transaction, 1980): 3-66.

Morris Janowitz, "Political Sociology," in David Sills, ed., International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences Vol. 12 (Macmillan, 1968): 298-307

Scott Greer & Peter Orleans, "Political Sociology," in E.L. Farris, ed., Handbook of Modern Sociology (Rand McNally, 1964): 808-51.

Giovanni Sartori, "From the Sociology of Politics to Political Sociology," in S.M. Lipset, ed., Politics and the Social Sciences (Oxford Univ. Press, 1969): 65-100.

Robert Dahl, "The Concept of Power," Behavioral Science 2 (1957): 201-05.

Peter Bachrach & Morton Baratz, "The Two Faces of Power," American Politcal Science Review 56 (1962): 947-52.

Nicos Poulantzas, "The Concept of Power," Political Power and Social Classes (New Left Books, 1973): 99-119.

Isaac D. Balbus, "The Concept of Interest in Pluralist and Marxist Analysis," Politics and Society 1 (1971): 151-77.

Steven Lukes, Power: A Radical View (Macmillan Press, 1978).

Dennis Wrong, Power: Its Forms, Bases, and Uses (Harper & Row, 1979).

Aminzade
Political Sociology

Jan. 31 - Feb. 2 The Pluralist Perspective
The Elitist Perspective

Required: 1- G. William Domhoff, Who Rules America Now? (Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1983).

Recommended: Michael Parenti, "Power and Pluralism: A View from the Bottom," Journal of Politics 32 (August, 1970): 501-30.

Todd Gitlin, "Local Pluralism as Theory and Ideology," in Charles McCoy & John Playford, eds., Apolitical Politics (Cromwell, 1967): 124-145.

C. Wright Mills, "The Structure of Power in American Society," in I. Horowitz, ed., Power, Politics and People (Oxford Univ. 1963).

Robert Dahl A Preface to Democratic Theory (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1956).

Robert Dahl Who Governs? Democracy and Power in An American City (Yale Univ. Press, 1961).

G.William Domhoff Who Really Rules? (Goodyear Publishing Co, 1978).

Talcott Parsons "The Distribution of Power in American Society," Structure and Process in Modern Societies (Free Press, 1960): 199-225.

Norton Long "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," in Lewis Coser, ed., Political Sociology (Harper & Row, 1966): 146-66.

F. Cunningham "Pluralism and Class Struggle," Science and Society 39, #4 (1976): 385-416.

William O. Connolly The Bias of Pluralism (Atherton, 1969).

Milton Mankoff "Power in Advanced Capitalist Society: A Review Essay on Recent Elitist and Marxist Criticisms of Pluralist Theory," Social Problems 17 (Winter, 1970): 418-430.

C.Wright Mills The Power Elite (Oxford Univ. Press, 1956).

G.W. Domhoff & H.B. Ballard, eds., C. Wright Mills and the Power Elite (Beacon Press, 1968).

Robert Alford "Paradigms of Relations Between State and Society," in Leon Lindberg et al, eds., Stress and Contradiction in Modern Capitalism (Lexington, 1975): 145-160.

Aminzade
Political Sociology

Feb. 7-9 The Marxist View
The Politics of the U.S. Capitalist Class

Required:

1- Ralph Miliband Marxism and Politics (Oxford Univ. Press, 1977): 1-117.
2- Michael Useem, "Business and Politics in the United States and United Kingdom: The Origins of Heightened Political Activity of Large Corporations during the 1970s and Early 1980s" Theory & Society 12, #3 (1983): 281-308.

Recommended:

William Domhoff "State and Ruling Class in Corporate America," The Insurgent Sociologist 4, #3 (Spring, 1974): 3-16.

Michael Parenti Power and the Powerless (St.Martins, 1978).

Goran Therborn "What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?: Some Reflections on Different Approaches to the Study of Power in Society," Insurgent Sociologist 6 (Spring, 1976): 3-16.

Nicos Poulantzas Political Power and Social Classes (New Left Books, 1973)

Robert Werlin "Marxist Political Analysis," in Andrew Effrat, ed., Perspectives in Political Sociology (Bobbs Merrill, n.d.): 157-82.

Arthur Stinchcombe "Marxist Theories of Power and Empirical Research," in Lewis Coser & Otto Larsen, eds., The Uses of Controversy in Sociology (Free Press, 1976): 301-14.

David Nichols "Ruling Class as a Scientific Concept," Review of Radical Political Economics 4, #5(Fall, 1972): 35-69.

John Mollenkopf "Theories of the State and Power Structure Research," The Insurgent Sociologist 5, #3 (1975): 245-64.

Maurice Zeitlin "Corporate Ownership and Control: The Large Corporation and the Capitalist Class" American Journal of Sociology 79 (March, 1974): 1073-1119.

Albert Szymanski The Capitalist State and the Politics of Class (Winthrop, 1978): 1-53, 163-273.

G.W. Domhoff The Bohemian Grove and Other Retreats: A Study in Ruling Class Cohesiveness (Harper & Row, 1975).

Michael Soref "The Finance Capitalists," in Maurice Zeitlin, ed., Classes, Class Conflict, and the State (Winthrop, 1980): 62-82.

Samuel Norich "Interlocking Directorates, the Control of Large Corporations, and Patterns of Accumulation in the Capitalist Class," in Maurice Zeitlin Classes, Class Conflict and the State: 109-124.

Michael Useem "The Inner Group of the American Capitalist Class," in Richard Quinney, ed., Capitalist Society: Readings for a Critical Sociology (Dorsey Press, 1979): 109-24.

Michael Useem, "Which Business Leaders Help Govern?" Insurgent Sociologist 9, #2-3 (Fall 1979-Winter 1980): 107-20.

J. Allen Whitt "Can Capitalists Organize Themselves?" Insurgent Sociologist 9, #2-3 (Fall 1979-Winter 1980): 51-59.

Feb. 14-16 Weber's Theory of the State
Class, Status, and Politics

Required: 1- Reinhard Bendix, Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait (Doubleday Anchor, 1962): 285-468

Recommended: Max Weber "Political Communities," Economy and Society, Chapter 9, Volume 2 (Univ. of California Press, 1978).

Max Weber "Politics as a Vocation," in H.Gerth & C.W. Mills, eds, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (Oxford Univ. Press, 1958).

Reinhart Bendix Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait (Anchor, 1966).

Peter M. Blau "Critical Remarks on Max Weber's Theory of Authority," American Political Science Review 57, #2(June, 1963): 305-16.

Daniel Rossides "The Legacy of Max Weber: A Non-Metaphysical Politics," in Andrew Effrat, ed., Perspectives in Political Sociology (Bobbs-Merrill, n.d.): 183-210.

Paul Q. Hirst Social Evolution and Sociological Categories (Allen & Unwin, 1976): 49-123.

Randal Collins "A Comparative Approach to Political Sociology," in Reinhard Bendix et al, eds., State and Society: A Reader in Comparative Political Sociology (Little Brown, 1968): 42-67.

Frank Parkins "Social Cleavages and the Forms of the State," Marxism and Class Theory: A Bourgeois Critique (Columbia Univ. Press, 1979): 119-142.

Gianfranco Poggi The Development of the Modern State (Hutchinson, 1978).

Reinhard Bendix Nation Building and Citizenship (Univ. of California Press, 1969).

Norbert Wiley "America's Unique Class Politics," in Edward Lauman, Paul Siegel, & Robert Hodge, eds., The Logic of Social Hierarchies (Markham, 1970).

Feb. 21-23

The Marxist Theory of the State
The Structuralist-Instrumentalist Debate

Required:

1- David Gold, Clarence Lo, & Erik Wright "Recent Developments in Marxist Theories of the State," Monthly Review 27 (Oct.-Nov. 1975): 29-43, 36-51.
2- Fred Block "The Ruling Class Does Not Rule: Notes on the Marxist Theory of the State," Socialist Revolution 7(1977): 6-28.
3- Theda Skocpol, "Political Response to Capitalist Crisis: Neo-Marxist Theories of the State and the Case of the New Deal" Politics & Society 10, #2 (1980): 155-201.

Recommended:

Ralph Miliband The State in Capitalist Society (Basic Books, 1969).

Nicos Poulantzas "The Problem of the Capitalist State," New Left Review 58 (Nov.-Dec. 1969): 67-78.

Ralph Miliband "The Capitalist State: Reply to Nicos Poulantzas," New Left Review 59 (Jan.-Feb. 1970): 53-60.

Ernesto Laclau "The Specificity of the Political: The Poulantzas-Miliband Debate," Economy and Society 84 (1975): 87-110.

G.Anderson, R.Friedland, & E. Wright "Modes of Class Struggle and the Capitalist State," Kapitalistate 4-5 (1976): 186-220.

Claus Offe "The Theory of the Capitalist State and the Problem of Policy Formation," in Leon Lindberg et al, eds., Stress and Contradiction in Modern Capitalism (Lexington, 1975).

Claus Offe, "Political Authority and Class Structure: An Analysis of Late Capitalist Societies," International Journal of Sociology, 2, #1 (1972):73-105.

Claus Offe & Volker Ronge, "Theses on the Theory of the State," New German Critique #6 (1975): 137-47.

James O'Connor The Fiscal Crisis of the State (St.Martins Press, 1973).

Boris Frankel, "On the State of the State: Marxist Theories of the State After Leninism," Theory and Society 7, #2 (Jan.-March, 1979); 199-242.

Bob Jessop, "Recent Theories of the Capitalist State," Cambridge Journal of Economics 4 (1977): 353-73.

Maurice Zeitlin, "On Classes, Class Conflict, and the State," in Zeitlin, ed., Classes, Class Conflict, and the State (Winthrop, 1980): 1-37.

Fred Block, "Beyond Relative Autonomy: State Managers as Historical Subjects," in R. Miliband & J. Saville, eds., The Socialist Registe 1980 (Merlin Press, 1980): 227-242.

Feb. 28 - March 1 Theories of Democracy
Social Origins of Capitalist Democracies

Required:
1- Barrington Moore Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (Beacon Press, 1967).
2- Goran Therborn, "The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy," New Left Review (May-June, 1977): 3-41.

Recommended:
Lane Davis, "The Cost of Realism: Contemporary Restatements of Democracy," Western Political Quarterly 17 (March, 1964): 37-46.

Graeme Duncan & Steven Lukes, "The New Democracy," in C.McCoy & J.Playford eds., Apolitical Politics (Cromwell,1967): 160-184.

Anthony Downs An Economic Theory of Democracy (Harper & Row, 1957).

Brian Barry Sociologists, Economists, and Democracy (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1970).

Alexis deToqueville Democracy in America (Vintage, 1955).

Richard Hamilton Class and Politics in the United States (Wiley, 1972): 1-82.

C.B. MacPherson The Real World of Democracy (Clarendon, 1965).

Joseph Schumpeter Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy (Harper, 1962).

John Plamenatz Democracy and Illusion (Longman, 1973).

Phillips Cutwright, "National Political Development: Measurement and Analysis," American Sociological Review 28 (April,1963): 253-64.

Mark Kesselman "Order or Movement? The Literature of Political Development as an Ideology," World Politics (Oct. 1973).

Charles Tilly, "Western State-Making and Theories of Political Transformation," in C. Tilly, ed., The Formation of National States in Western Europe (Princeton Univ. Press, 1975): 601-638.

Bob Jessop "Capitalism and Democracy: The Best Possible Shell?" in Gary Littlejohn, ed., Power and the State (St. Martins Press, 1978): 10-51.

Alan Wolfe, "The Legitimacy Crisis of the State," The Limits of Legitimacy (Free Press, 1977): 322-47.

M.Murphy & Alan Wolfe, "Democracy in Disarray," Kapitalistate 8 (1980): 9-25.

Barry Hindess, "Marxism and Parliamentary Democracy," in Alan Hunt, ed., Marxism and Democracy (Lawrence & Wishart, 1980): 21-53.

George Novack Democracy and Revolution (Pathfinder Press, 1971).

March 6-8 Parties and Party Systems
The U.S. Party System

Required

1- S.M. Lipset, "Parties and Party Systems," in Political Man: 303-331.
2- Martin Shefter, "Party, Bureaucracy, and Political Change in the United States," in L. Maisel & J. Cooper, eds., Political Parties: Development and Decay (Sage, 1978): 211-65.

Recommended:

Maurice Duverger Political Parties, 2nd edition (Wiley & Sons, 1954).

Robert Alford Party and Society: The Anglo-American Democracies (Rand-McNally, 1963).

Sigmund Neumann Modern Political Parties (Univ. of California Press, 1956).

S.M. Lipset & S. Rokkan, eds., *Party Systems and Voter Alignments* (Free Press, 1967).

Giovanni Sartori *Parties and Party Systems* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976).

Leon B. Epstein, "Political Parties," in F. Greenstein & F. Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science*, (Addison-Wesley, 1972), Vol. 4: 229-77.

S.F. Bay Area Capitalistate Group, "Political Parties and Capitalist Development," *Kapitalistate* #6 (Fall, 1977): 7-38.

Ira Katznelson & Mark Kesselman, "Competition Without Representation: Political Parties and Elections," in *The Politics of Power* (Harcourt, Brace, & Jovanovich, 1979): 141-81.

Charles Hauss & David Rayside, "The Development of New Parties in Western Democracies Since 1945," in L. Maisel & J. Cooper, eds., *Political Parties*: *Development and Decay* (Sage, 1978): 31-57.

R. Edwards & M. Reich, "Political Parties & Class Conflict in the U.S.," *The Capitalist System*, 2nd Edition (Prentice Hall, 1978): 252-62. .

Walter Dean Burnham *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics* (Norton, 1970).

Gosta Esping-Anderson, "The Political Limits of Social Democracy: State Policy and Party Decomposition in Denmark and Sweden," in M. Zeitlin, ed., *Classes, Class Conflict, & the State* (Winthrop, 1980): 257-75.

William Chambers, "Parties and Nation-Building in America," in L. LaPolombara & M.Weiner, eds., *Political Parties and Political Development* (Princeton Univ, Press, 1966): 88-113.

Everett Ladd & Charles Hadley *Transformations of the American Party System* (Norton, 1975).

March 13-15 Political Participation and Electoral Politics
Discussion: Critical Realignments and the Future of U.S. Electoral Politics

Required:

1- S.M. Lipset, "Voting in Western Democracies," *Political Man*: 183-300.
2- Walter Dear Durnham, "The 1980 Earthquake: Realignment, Reaction, or What?" in T. Ferguson & J. Rogers (eds.), *The Hidden Election* (Pantheon Books, 1981): 98-140.

Recommended:

R.Alford & R. Friedland, "Political Participation and Public Policy," *Annual Review of Sociology* 1(1975): 429-79.

Lester Milbraith *Political Participation* (Rand McNally, 1965).

Marvin E. Olsen, "A Model of Political Participation Stratification," in George Kourvetaris & Betty Dobratz, eds., *Political Sociology* (Transaction, 1980): 103-120.

Robert Alford, "Class Voting in the Anglo-American Political Systems," in S.M.Lipset & S.Rokkan, eds., Party Systems and Voter Alignments (Free Press, 1967): 67-93.

Angus Cambell et al, *The American Voter* (Wiley, 1965).

P.Converse & G. Depeux "Politicization of the Electorate in France and the United States," in Lewis Coser, ed., *Political Sociology* (Harper, 1966): 216-46.

Philip Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent* (Free Press of Glencoe, 1964): 206-56.

Giovanni Sartori, "Politics, Ideology, and Belief Systems," *American Political Science Review* 63 (June, 1969): 398-411.

Alan Wolfe,"Alienated Politics," *The Limits of Legitimacy* (Free Press, 1977): 288-321.

Murray Edelman *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* (Univ. of Illinois Press, 1964).

Albert Szymanski, *The Capitalist State and the Politics of Class* (Winthrop, 1978): 55-119.

Richard Hamilton *Class and Politics in the U.S.* (Wiley, 1972): 152-238, 399-75.

Edward Greenberg *The American Political System* (Winthrop, 1977): 112-173.

Frank Parkin *Class Inequality and Political Order* (Praeger, 1971).

Werner Sombart *Why is There No Socialism in the U.S.?* (International Arts & Sciences Press, 1976).

J.H.M. Laslett & S.M. Lipset, eds., *Failure of a Dream? Essays in the History of American Socialism* (Anchor/Doubleday, 1974).

S.M. Lipset "Why No Socialism in the U.S,?" in S. Bialer & S. Sluzar, eds., Sources of Contemporary Radicalism (Westview Press, 1977): 31-149.

Jerome Karabel, "The Failure of American Socialism Reconsidered," in R.Miliband & J.Saville, eds., The Socialist Register 1979 (Merlin Press, 1979): 204-227.

Mike Davis, "Why the U.S. Working Class is Different," New Left Review (Sept-Oct., 1980): 3-44.

Mike Davis, "The New Right's Road to Power," New Left Review #128 (July-August, 1981): 28-49.

Alan Wolfe, "Sociology, Liberalism, and the Radical Right," New Left Review #128 (July-August, 1981): 3-27.

David Plotke, "American Politics and Class Forces in the 1970s," Socialist Review 37(Jan.-Feb. 1978): 11-39.

March 27-29 — Weberian Theory of Bureaucracy
Marxist Theory of Bureaucracy

Required:

1- Jean Cohen, "Max Weber and the Dynamics of Rationalized Domination" Telos 14 (Winter, 1972): 63-86.
2- Paul Goldman, "Sociologists and the Study of Bureaucracy: A Critique of Ideology and Practice," Insurgent Sociologist 8 (Winter, 1978): 21-30.
3- Nancy DiTomaso, "Class Politics and Public Bureaucracy: The U.S. Department of Labor" in M. Zeitlin (ed.) Classes, Class Conflict, and the State (Winthrop, 1980): 135-152.

Recommended:

Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," in H.Gerth & C.W. Mills,eds., From Max Weber (Oxford Univ. Press, 1946): 196-226.

Robert K. Merton et al, eds., Reader in Bureaucracy (Free Press, 1952).

Peter Blau Bureaucracy in Modern Society (Random House, 1971).

Philip Selznick T.V.A. and the Grassroots (Univ. of California Press, 1953).

Nicos Mouzelis Organization and Bureaucracy (Aldine, 1968).

Claude Lefort, "What is Bureaucracy?" Telos #22(Winter, 1974-75): 32-65.

Nicos Poulantzas, "Bureaucracy and Elites," in Political Power and Social Classes (New Left Books, 1973): 325-59.

Erik Olin Wright, "Bureaucracy and the State," in Class, Crisis, and the State (New Left Books, 1978): 181-225.

Isaac Deutscher, "Roots of Bureaucracy," in R.Miliband & J.Saville, eds., Socialist Register 1969 (Merlin Press, 1969): 9-28.

Wolf Heydebrand, "Organizational Contradictions in Public Bureaucracy: Towards a Marxian Theory of Organization," Sociological Quarterly 18 (Winter, 1977): 83-107.

Katherine Stone, "The Origins of Job Structures in the Steel Industry," Review of Radical Political Economics 6(1974): 113-74.

William Roy, "From Electoral to Bureaucratic Politics," in Maurice Zeitlin, ed., Political Power and Social Theory (JAI Press, 1981): 173-202.

April 3-5 The Iron Law of Oligarchy
Discussion: Bureaucracy and Democracy

Required:

1- Noberto Bobbio, "Are There Alternatives to Representative Democracy?" Telos #35 (Spring, 1978): 17-30.
2- Arthur D. Larson, "Representative Bureaucracy and Administrative Responsibility: A Reassessment," In Joseph Uveges, ed. The Dimensions of Public Administration (Holbrook Press, 1976): 543-53.
3- Carmen Sirianni, "Production and Power in a Classless Society: A Critical Analysis of the Utopian Dimensions of Marxist Theory," Socialist Review #59 (Sept.-Oct. 1981): 33-82.

Recommended:

Alvin Gouldner, "Metaphysical Pathos & the Theory of Bureaucracy," American Political Science Review 49(June, 1955): 496-507.

Reinhard Bendix "Bureaucracy and the Problem of Power," Public Administration Review 5(1945): 194-209.

S.M. Lipset, M.Trow, & J.S. Coleman Union Democracy (Free Press, 1956).

Francis Rourke Bureaucracy, Politics, and Public Policy (Little Brown, 1969).

Noberto Bobbio "Why Democracy?" Telos #36(1978): 43-54.

Martin Oppenheimer, "The Limitations of Socialism: Some Sociological Observations on Participatory Democracy," in C.Benello & D. Roussopoulos, The Case for Participatory Democracy (Grossman, 1971): 270-82.

Dudley Burton & M.Brian Murphy, "Planning, Austerity, and the Democratic Prospect," Kapitalistate #8(1980): 67-97.

Bengt Abrahamsson Bureaucracy or Participation: The Logic of Organization (Sage, 1977).

April 10-12 The Origins of Social Movements
Free Riders and Social Movements

Required:

1- J. Craig Jenkins, "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements", Annual Review of Sociology 9 (1983): 527-53.
2- Bruce Fireman and William A. Gamson, "Utilitarian Logic in the Resource Mobilization Perspective" in M. Zald & J. McCarthy (eds.) The Dynamics of Social Movements (Winthrop, 1979).

Recommended:

Anthony Obershall Social Conflict and Social Movements (Prentice Hall, 1973).

Charles Tilly From Mobilization to Revolution (Addison-Wesley, 1978).

Neil Smelser A Theory of Collective Behavior (Free Press, 1963).

John Wilson Introduction to Social Movements (Basic, 1973).

Gary Marx & James Wood, "Strands of Theory and Research in Collective Behavior," Annual Review of Sociology 1(1975): 363-425.

Jeffrey Paige Agrarian Revolution: Social Movements and Export Agriculture in the Underdeveloped World (Free Press, 1975).

Anthony Orum, "On Participation in Political Protest Movements," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science 10(April-June, 1974): 181-207.

Francis Fox Piven & Richard Cloward, "Social Policy and the Formation of Political Consciousness," in M.Zeitlin, ed., Political Power and Social Theory (JAI Press, 1980): 117-52.

Julia Wrigley, "Comment on Social Policy and the Formation of Political Consciousness" in Zeitlin, ed., Political Pcwer and Social Theory (JAI Preas, 1980): 153-60.

April 17-19 Organization and Mobilization
Discussion: Social Movement Tactics and Strategies

Required: 1- Francis Fox Piven & Richard Cloward Poor Peoples' Movements (Pantheon, 1977).

Recommended: John McCarthy & Mayer Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," American Journal of Sociology 82,#6(197): 1212-41.

John McCarthy & Mayer Zald, The Trend of Social Movements in America: Professionalization and Resource Mobilization (General Learning Corp., 1973).

William Gamson The Strategy of Social Protest (Dorsey, 1975).

Charles Perrow "The Sixties Observed," in Zald & McCarthy, eds., The Dynamics of Social Movements (Winthrop, 1979): 192-211.

Sandor Halebsky, "New Perspectives on Political Radicalism," in G. Kourvetaris & B. Dobratz, eds., Political Sociology (Transaction, 1980): 185-96.

Michael Useem Protest Movements in America (Bobbs-Merrill, 1975).

Roberta Ash Social Movements in America, 2nd edition (Rand McNally, 1977)

Harry Boyte The Backyard Revolution (Temple Univ. Press, 1980).

April 24-26 Guest: Rob Kleidman- The Nuclear Freeze Campaign and Social Movement Theory
Discussion: The New Populism and Social Movement Strategies for Change

Required:

1- Harvey Molotch, "Media and Movements" in M. Zald & J. McCarthy (eds.) The Dynamics of Social Movements (Winthrop Publishers, 1979).
2- Harry Boyte, "Building the Democratic Movement: Prospects for a Socialist Renaissance" Socialist Review #40-41 (July-Oct., 1978): 17-41.
3- Mike Davis, "Socialist Renaissance or Populist Mirage? A Reply to Harry Boyte" Socialist Review #40-41 (July-Oct. 1978): 53-64.

Recommended:

Mark Kesselman "Prospects for Democratic Socialism in Advanced Capitalism: Class Struggle and Compromise in Sweden and France" Politics and Society 11, #4 (1982): 397-438.

Harry Boyte & Frank Ackerman, "Revolution and Democracy," Socialist Revolution #16(July-August, 1973).

G.M. Domhoff, "Why Socialists Should be Democrats: A Tactic for Class Struggle in Corporate America", Socialist Review (Jan. 1978): 25-36.

David Plotke, "Notes on the Democratic Party: A Response to Domhoff," Socialist Review #37(1978): 37-50.

Richard Flacks, "On the New Working Class and Strategies for Social Change," Social Policy 1, #6(March-April, 1971): 7-15.

Gar Alperovitz, Strategy and Program (Beacon Press, 1972).

May 1-3 Theories of Revolution
States and Revolution

Required:

1- Theda Skocpol States and Social Revolution (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1979).

Recommended:

Charles Tilly, "Revolution and Collective Political Violence," in F.Greenstein & N.Polsby, eds., The Handbook of Political Science (Addison-Wesley, 1972).

Charles Tilly, "Does Modernization Breed Revolution?" Comparative Politics (April 1973): 425-47.

Roderick Aya, "Theories of Revolution Reconsidered: Contrasting Models of Collective Violence," Theory and Society 8(1979): 39-100.

James Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," *American Sociological Review* 27(1962): 5-19.

Crane Brinton *The Anatomy of Revolution*. (Norton, 1938).

Clamers Johnson *Revolutionary Change* (Little Brown, 1966).

Peter Amman, "Revolution: A Redefinition," *Political Science Quarterly* 77 (1962): 36-53.

Eric Wolf *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (Harper & Row, 1969).

Samuel Huntington *Political Order in Changing Societies* (Yale Univ., 1968).

V.I. Lenin *The State and Revolution* (International Publishers, 1932).

Leon Trotsky *The Russian Revolution* (Doubleday Anchor, 1959).

R. Blackburn, "Marxism: Theory of Proletarian Revolution," in R.Blackburn, ed., *Revolution and Class Struggle* (Fontana, 1977):25-68.

May 8-10 Vanguard Parties and Social Change
Discussion: Reform or Revolution?

Required:
1- Ralph Miliband *Marxism and Politics*: 118-190.
2- Peter Drier "The Case for Transitional Reform" *Social Policy* (Jan.-Feb. 1979): 5-18.

Recommended: Rosa Luxemburg *Leninism or Marxism?* (Univ. of Michigan Press, 1961).

Herbert Kitschelt & Helmut Wiesenthal, "Organization and Mass Action in the Political Works of Rosa Luxemburg," *Politics and Society* 9,#2 (1979): 153-202.

Jeff Lustig, "On Organization: The Question of the Leninist Party," *Politics and Society* 7,#1(1977).

Ernest Mandel, "The Leninist Theory of Organization," in R.Blackburn, ed., *Revolution and Class Struggle* (Fontana, 1977): 78-135.

Phillip Selznick *The Organizational Weapon* (McGraw Hill, 1952).

L. Magri, "Problems of the Marxist Theory of the Revolutionary Party," #60 (March-April, 1970).

Michael Parenti, "The Possibilities for Political Change," Politics and Society 1, #1 (Nov. 1970): 79-90.

Sidney Lens, "The Road to Power and Beyond," in G. Benello & D. Roussopoulos, eds., The Case for Participatory Democracy (Grossman, 1971); 300-16.

Colin Mercer, "Revolution, Reforms, or Reformulations?" in Alan Hunt, ed., Marxism and Democracy (Lawrence & Wishart, (1980); 101-137.

Nocos Poulantzas, "Toward a Democratic Solialism," New Left Review #109(May-June, 1978).

Henri Weber, "Eurocommunism, Socialism, and Democracy," New Left Review #110 (July-August, 1978).

Carl Boggs, "Revolutionary Process, Political Strategy, and the Dilemma of Power," Theory and Society 4(Fall, 1977): 361-93.

Harvard University
Fall , 1983
Tuesdays & Thursdays 12:00 - 1:00

G. Esping-Andersen
584 William James Hall
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SOCIOLOGY 129

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

This is a survey course on major themes in political sociology: the origins and development of the modern state, the evolution of democracy, bureaucracy, political parties, and the nature of power and authority. Special attention will be devoted to variations in types of states and polities, and to explaining their social bases. The course will conclude by examining marxist and non-marxist theories of capitalism, socialism and democracy.

The course is designed as a general introduction and does not stipulate any specific requirements for admission. Some background in European history would be helpful. On occasion, reading assignments will be heavy.

* Required readings

READING LIST

Lectures 1-2 (Sept. 20-22). General Introduction. The theoretical and ideological foundations of politics, and their influence on political analysis.

(No reading assignment, but begin reading Poggi)

Lectures 3-4 (Sept. 27-29). The Historical Roots of the Modern State. Feudalism, absolutism, the process of nation-building and bureaucratization.

Readings: G. Poggi, The Development of the Modern State. *)
(Chapts. 1-4).

M. Weber, in Gerth & Mills (eds), From Max Weber. (pp.196-244) *)

R. Braun, in C. Tilly (ed), The Formation of National States in Western Europe (pp. 243-328) *)

Recommended: D. Harris, "European Liberalism and the State". In H. Lubasz, The Development of the Modern State.

Lectures 5-6. (Oct. 4-6). The Rise of Citizenship and Democracy.

Readings: R. Bendix, "The Extension of Citizenship to the Lower Classes". In his, Nationbuilding and Citizenship. *)

C.B. Macpherson, The Real World of Democracy. *)

Lectures 7-8 (Oct. 11-13). The Influence of Democracy on States.

Readings: V.I. Lenin, State and Revolution. (chapts. I and V) *)

A de Tocqueville, Democracy in America. (pp. 173-315) *)

J. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy (chapts. XXI, XXII and XXIII) *)

Lectures 9-10 (Oct. 18-20). The Question of Power in the Contemporary State.

Readings: C. Lindblom, Politics and Markets. (chapts. 5,6,9,10,11,12,13 and 14) *)

F. Block, "The Ruling Class does not Rule" *)

Recommended: A. Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy

Lectures 11-12 (Oct.25-27). Alternative Types of States and Regimes. The Liberal Democratic and Authoritarian State.

Readings: G. Poggi (op.cit) (chapts. V and VI) *)

T. Mason, "The Primacy of Politics" *)

Lectures 13-14 (Nov. 1-3). The Social Bases of Democracy and Dictatorship.

Readings: K. Marx, Class Struggles in France (*)

Barrington Moore, The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (chapts. VII, VIII and IX. and, as far as possible, chapts I, III and V) *)

S.M. Lipset, Political Man (Part II). *)

Lectures 15-16 (Nov. 8-10). Political Parties.

Readings: R. Michels, Political Parties (Lipset's introduction and part 6) *)

O. Kirshheimer, "The Waning of Oppositions" *)

Lectures 17-18 (Nov.15-17). Varieties of parties and party systems.

Readings: K. Janda in W. Crotty (ed), The Party Symbol *)

W.D.Burnham, Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics (chapt. 7) *)

Mid-term Exam (Prelim.) November 22.

Lectures 19-20 (Nov.29-Dec.1). Elections and the Voter. The Democratic Class Struggle ?

Readings: S.M. Lipset, Political Man (Chapts 7 & 8) *)

R. Inglehart, The Silent Revolution (Chapts 2 and 3) *)

Recommended: Nie, Verba and Petrocik, The Changing American Voter (esp. chapts. 2-6)

Lectures 21-22. (Dec. 6-8). Do Politics Matter ? The Impact of governments and parties on social change.

Readings: F. Parkin, Class Inequality and Political Order (chapt.4) *)

J. Stephens, The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism (chapts. 4 and 5) *)

Lectures 23-24 (Dec. 13-15). Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy.

Readings: J. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy (part 2) *)

A. Przworski, "Social Democracy as an Historical Phenomenon" *)

Stanford University
Political Science 103
Sociology 147
Professor Seymour Martin Lipset

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CLASS AND POLITICS

I. STRATIFICATION - THEORY

Required

1) S. M. Lipset, "Social Stratification" - from International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (article to be distributed in class).

2) R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset. "Karl Marx's Theory of Social Classes," in Bendix and Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power, pp. 6-11.

3) Max Weber, "Class, Status and Party," in Bendix and Lipset, pp. 21-28.

4) "The Continuing Debate on Equality," in Bendix and Lipset, pp. 47-72.

5) B. E. Vanfossen, The Structure of Social Inequality, pp. 2-54.

Recommended

1) Anthony Orum, Introduction to Political Sociology, pp. 11-99.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

2) Sections One and Nine in Melvin Tumin, ed., Readings on Social Stratification, pp. 3-58, 368-434.

II. POWER

1) Vanfossen, The Structure of Social Inequality, pp. 136-178.

2) Robert Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power," in Tumin, ed., pp. 60-70.

3) Norton Long, "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," (copies to be distributed in class).

4) Orum, Introduction to Political Sociology , pp. 101-157.

5) Raymond Aron, "Social Class, Political Class, Ruling Class," in Bendix and Lipset, pp. 201-210.

6) Wm. Kornhauser, "'Power Elite' or 'Veto Groups,'" in Bendix and Lipset, pp. 210-218.

III. THE NATURE OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

1) S. M. Lipset, Political Man, chapters 2 and 3.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

2) A. Orum, Introduction to Political Sociology, pp. 305-338.

3) A. Inkeles and L. Diamond, "Personal Development and National Development: A Cross-National Perspective," in A. Szalai and F. M. Andrews, eds., The Quality of Life, pp. (to be distributed in class).

4) G. A. Almond, "The Intellectual History of the Civic Culture Concept," in Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture Revisited, pp. 1-36.

5) A. Lijphart, "The Structure of Inference," in Almond and Verba, pp. 37-56.

IV. THE REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL GROUPS AND PRIVATE GOVERNMENTS

1) Lipset, "Party Systems and the Representation of Social Groups," in Lipset, The First New Nation, chapter 9, pp. 286-317.

2) Robert Michels, Political Parties (Free Press edition)
"Introduction" by Lipset
Part one A, 1-3
Part one C, 1
Part six, 1, 2, 4

V. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

1) Lipset, *Political Man*, chapter 6

2) Lester Milbrath and M. L. Goel, *Political Participation* (2nd edition, 1977), pp. 35-122.

3) Raymond Wolfinger and S. J. Rosenstone, *Who Votes?*, pp. 13-36.

VI. THE DEMOCRATIC CLASS STRUGGLE IN INDUSTRIAL AND POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

1) Lipset, *Political Man*, chapters 7, 8

2) Ronald Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution*, pp. 177-290.

VII. THE AMERICAN PARTY STRUGGLE: THE BASIC PATTERN

1) Lipset, *Political Man*, chapter 9

2) Richard Jensen, "Party Coalitions and the Search for Modern Values," in Lipset, ed., *Emerging Coalitions in American Poltiics*, pp. 11-40.

3) Jerome Clubb, "Party Coalitions in the Early Twentieth

Century," in Lipset, ed., *Emerging Coalitions*, pp. 61-80.

4) E. C. Ladd, "The Shifting Party Coalitions," in Lipset, ed., *Emerging Coalitions*, pp. 81-102.

5) S. I. Hayakawa, "Toward a Governing Coalition," in Lipset, ed., *Emerging Coalitions*, pp. 423-433.

6) Norman Nie, et al., *The Changing American Voter* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1979, enlarged edition), pp. 210-269.

VIII. "WHY NO SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES?
- THE FAILURE OF THIRD PARTIES

1) S. M. Lipset, "Why No Socialism in the United States?" in S. Bialer and S. Sluzar, eds., *Contemporary Radicalism*, pp. 31-149 (to be distributed in class).

IX. POLITICS IN POST-INDUSTRIAL AMERICA

1) Jeane Kirkpatrick, "Politics and the New Class," in B. Bruce-Briggs, ed., *The New Class?*, pp. 33-48.

2) E. C. Ladd, "Pursuing the New Class," in Bruce-Briggs, ed., *The New Class*, pp. 101-122.

3) Nie et al., The Changing American Voter, pp. 96-109, 194-209.

4) Michael Harrington, "The New Class and the Left," in Bruce-Briggs, ed., The New Class, pp. 123-138.

5) Stanley Rothman, "Intellectuals and the American Party System," in Lipset, ed., Emerging Coalitions, pp. 325-349.

6) E. C. Ladd, Transformations of the American Party System, pp. 31-128.

X. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: THEORY

1) Ralph Turner, "The Theme of Contemporary Social Movements," in R. S. Denisoff, The Sociology of Dissent, pp. 21-29.

2) R. S. Denisoff, "Two Approaches to Social Movements," in Denisoff, pp. 31-35.

3) N. J. Smelser, "Theoretical Issues of Scope and Problems," in Denisoff, pp. 31-35.

4) I. L. Horowitz and M. Liebowitz, "Social Deviance and Political Marginality," in Denisoff, pp. 263-280.

XI. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: BEHAVIOR

1) S. M. Lipset, "'Fascism - Left, Right and Center,'" in Lipset, Political Man, chapter 5.

2) Gary Rush, "Toward a Definition of the Extreme Right," in Denisoff, pp. 210-225.

3) Armand Mauss, "On Being Strangled by the Stars and Stripes," in Denisoff, pp. 144-160.

4) Jack Douglas, "The Theories of the American Student Movement," in Denisoff, pp. 58-77.

Political Sociology SOC 241/POLSCI 205 Winter 1982

Stanford University

SEMINAR
TOPICS IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY
PROFESSOR S. M. LIPSET

SYLLABUS

I. CLASS AND POWER — THEORY

1. Max Weber, "Class, Status and Party," in Bendix and Lipset, eds., CLASS, STATUS AND POWER, pp. 21-28; also in H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, eds., FROM MAX WEBER: ESSAYS IN SOCIOLOGY (to be distributed).

2. S. M. Lipset, "Social Stratification," from INTERNATIONAL ENCYLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (to be distributed).

3. R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, "Karl Marx's Theory of Social Class," in Bendix and Lipset, eds., CLASS, STATUS AND POWER, pp. 6-11 (to be distributed).

4. N. Bukharin, HISTORICAL MATERIALISM.

5. T. H. Marshall, CITIZENSHIP AND SOCIAL CLASS.

6. Anthony Orum, INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY, pp. 11-99.

7. Frank Parkin, "Social Stratification," in Tom Bottomore and Robert Nisbet eds., A HISTORY OF SOCIOLOGICAL ANLAYSIS.

8. Frank Parkin, MARXISM AND CLASS THEORY.

9. Steven Lukes, POWER.

10. Norton Long, THE POLITY, chapter on power and game theory.

11. Raymond Aron, "Social Structure and the Ruling Class," British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 150 (to be distributed).

II. STATE-BUILDING AND BUREAUCRACY: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

1. Henry Jacoby, BUREAUCRATIZATION OF THE WORLD

*2. Gianfranco Poggi, DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN STATE, Chapters 1-5.

3. James Q. Wilson, "Rise of the Bureaucratic State," in Nathan Glazer and Irving Kristol, eds., THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH 1976 (to be

distributed).

4. Charles Tilly, ed., FORMATION OF NATIONAL STATES, selections by Tilly and Rokkan.

5. Vilhelm Aubert, SOCIOLOGY OF LAW.

6. Perry Anderson, LINEAGES OF THE ABSOLUTIST STATE, Part I; chapters 1, 2; Part II, Chapter 1; Part III.

7. Joseph Strayer, MEDIEVAL ORIGINS OF THE MODERN STATE.

III. "ECONOMIC MARKETS AND "POLITICAL MARKETS": ECONOMIC THEORY OF THE STATE

*1. Joseph Schumpeter, CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM, AND DEMOCRACY, Chapters 21-25.

2. Anthony Downs, AN ECONOMIC THEORY OF DEMOCRACY.

IV. STATES AND ECONOMIC POLICIES: CONTRASTING PERSPECTIVES

*1. Milton Friedman, CAPITALISM AND FREEDOM, Chapters 1, 2, 12 and 13.

*2. John Kenneth Galbraith, THE NEW INDUSTRIAL STATE, Introduction and Chapters 5-7, 26-28, 35.

3. James O'Connor, THE FISCAL CRISIS OF THE STATE, Introduction and chapters 1 and 2.

*4. Charles E. Lindblom, POLITICS AND MARKETS, Part IV.

5. Colin Crouch, "The State, Capital, and Liberal Democracy," in C. Crouch, ed., STATE AND ECONOMY IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM.

6. David Cameron, "Expansion of the Public Economy: A Comparative Analysis," American Political Science Review, December 1978.

7. Ithiel Pool, "How Powerful Is Business," in Robert Hessen, ed., DOES BIG BUSINESS RULE AMERICA?, pages 23-34 (to be distributed).

V. "NEO-MARXIST" DISCUSSION OF THE STATE: POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND CLASS

1. N. Poulantzas and R. Miliband selections in Robin Blackburn, ed., IDEOLOGY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE.

2. Fred Block, "The Ruling Class Does Not Rule: Notes on the Marxist Theory of the State," Socialist Review, May-June 1977 (to be distributed).

3. B. Jessop, "Recent Theories of the Capitalist State," Cambridge Journal of Economics, 1, 1977.

4. Theda Skocpol, "Political Response to Capitalist Crisis: Neo-Marxist Theories of the State and the Case of the New Deal," Politics and Society, Summer 1981 (to be distributed).

5. Anthony Giddens, CLASS STRUCTURE OF THE ADVANCED SOCIETIES, Chapter 7, Part 1.

6. Ralph Miliband, THE STATE IN CAPITALIST SOCIETIES, Chapters 1-4.

7. Nicos Poulantzas, STATE, POWER, SOCIALISM.

8. Claus Offe, "Political Authority and Class Structures," in Paul Connerton, ed., CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY, also in International Journal of Sociology, Vol. II, No. 1, 1972.

9. Goran Therborn, WHAT DOES THE RULING CLASS DO WHEN IT RULES?

VI. ORGANIZATION AND REPRESENTATION OF INTERESTS. PLURALISM AND CORPORATISM.

*1. Robert Dahl, POLYARCHY.

2. Daniel Bell, THE COMING OF POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY.

3. Suzanne Berger, ed., ORGANIZATION OF INTERESTS IN WESTERN EUROPE, selection by Schmitter and Pizorno.

4. Phillipe Schmitter and G. Lehmbruch, eds., TRENDS TOWARD CORPORATIST INTERMEDIATION.

5. Harold Wilensky, THE "NEW CORPORATISM," CENTRALIZATION, AND THE WELFARE STATE.

6. Phillipe Schmitter, "Modes of Interest Intermediation and Model of Societal Change in Western Europe," Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 10, 1, April 1977.

7. G. Lehmbruch, "Liberal Corporatism and Party Government," Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 10, 1, April 1977.

8. Peter Flora and A. Heidenheimer, eds., DEVELOPMENT OF WELFARE STATES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

9. Norton Long, THE POLITY, selection on Game Theory and Power (to be distributed).

VII. CLASS AND POLITICS IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

1. Paul Abramson, "Social Class and Political Change in Western Curope: A Cross-National Longitudinal Anlaysis," Comparative Political Studies, 4 (1971), pp. 131-55.

2. Robert Alford, "Class Voting in the Anglo-American Political Systems," in Lipset and Rokkan, eds., PARTY SYSTEMS AND VOTER ALIGNMENTS, pp. 67-93. See also Alford, PARTY AND SOCIETY. THE ANGLO AMERICAN DEMOCRACIES.

3. Ralf Dahrendorf, CLASS AND CLASS CONFLICT IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY.

4. Matai Dogan, "Political Cleavage and Social Stratification in France and Italy," in Lipset and Rokkan, eds., PARTY SYSTEMS AND VOTER ALIGNMENTS, pp. 129-195.

5. A. Giddens, THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF ADVANCED SOCIETIES.

6. J. H. Goldthorpe, et al., THE AFFLUENT WORKER: POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR.

7. W. Korpi, THE WORKING CLASS IN WELFARE CAPITALISM, pp. 55-75, 270-335.

8. F. Myers, "Social Class and Political Change in Advanced Industrial Societies," Comparative Politics, 2 (1970), pp. 389-412.

*9. S. M. Lipset, POLITICAL MAN, rev. ed., 1981, Chs. 7-9.

*10. S. M. Lipset and S. Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Aligmments," in Lipset and Rokkan, eds., PARTY SYSTEMS AND VOTER ALIGNMENTS, pp. 1-64.

*11. Michael Mann, CONSCIOUSNESS AND ACTION AMONG THE WESTERN WORKING CLASS (entire).

*12. S. M. Lipset, "Whatever Happened to the Proletariat," Encounter, Vol. 56, June 1981 (to be distributed).

13. Colin Crouch and Alexandro Pizzorno, eds., RESURGENCE OF CLASS CONFLICT IN WESTERN EUROPE, Vols. I and II.

16. Frank Parkin, CLASS INEQUALITY AND POLITICAL ORDER, chapters 1 and 3.

17. Michael Mann, "Social Cohesion of Liberal Democracy," American Sociological Review, Vol. 35, 1970.

18. Alan Fox, BEYOND CONTRACT: WORK, POWER, AND TRUST RELATIONS.

*19. A. Pzreworski, "Social Democracy as a Historical Phenomenon," New Left Review, July-August 1980.

20. Margaret Archer and Salvador Giner, eds., CLASS STATUS, AND POWER.

21. Margaret Archer and Salvador Giner, eds., CONTEMPORARY EUROPE: SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND CULTURAL PATTERNS.

VIII. POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY: WESTERN WRITINGS

*1. Daniel Bell, THE COMING OF POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY.

2. Daniel Bell, THE CULTURAL CONTRADICTIONS OF CAPITALISM, Chapter 6.

3. Fred Block and L. Hirschhorn, "New Productive Forces and the Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism: A Post-Industrial Perspective," in THEORY AND SOCIETY (neo-Marxist).

4. Zbigniew Brzezinski, TWO AGES: AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE TECHNETRONIC ERA.

5. V. Ferkiss, "Daniel Bell's Concept of Post-Industrial Society," The Political Science Reviewer, 9 (Fall 1971), pp. 61-102.

6. J. K. Galbraith, THE NEW INDUSTRIAL STATE.

7. J. Gurshuny, AFTER INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY?

8. B. Gustafsson, ed., POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY.

*9. Ronald Inglehart, THE SILENT REVOLUTION, pp. 1-176.

10. B. S. Kleinberg, AMERICAN SOCIETY IN THE POST-INDUSTRIAL AGE.

11. S. Mallet, ESSAYS ON THE NEW WORKING CLASS.

12. J. W. Morley, ed., PROLOGUE TO THE FUTURE: THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN IN THE POST-INDUSTRIAL AGE.

*13. Alain Touraine, THE POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY (neo-Marxist).

EAST EUROPEAN APPROACHES

1. V. G. Afanasyev, THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION.

*2. P. N. Fedoseev, "The Social Significance of the Scientific and Technological Revolution," International Social Science Journal, 27 (1975).

3. R. Richta, et al., CIVILIZATION AT THE CROSSROADS. SOCIAL AND HUMAN IMPLICATIONS OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION.

IX. GOVERNABILITY, LEGITIMACY AND THE POLITICS OF POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

1. R. Benjamin, THE LIMITS OF POLITICS. COLLECTIVE GOODS AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN POSTINDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES.

*2. J. Jacob, "Ethnic Mobilization and the Pursuit of Post-Industrial Values," The Tocqueville Review 2 (1980), pp. 52-85.

3. M. Kasse and S. Barnes, "In Conclusion: The Future of Political Protest in Western Democracies," in Barnes, ed., POLTIICAL ACTION.

4. K. Krishan, "Industrialism and Post-Industrialism," Sociological Review, 24 (1976), pp. 439-78.

*5. L. Lindberg, ed., POLITICS AND THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY, esp. chapters on California, Japan, and Sweden, pp., 19-56, 100-125, and 167-190; also chapter by Inglehart on "The Nature of Value Changes in Postindustrial Societies," pp. 57-99.

Soc. 141: POLITICS AND SOCIETY
Stanford University

Autumn 1980
John Meyer

OUTLINE AND READING LIST

X = Not Required
* = In Paperback

I. The State: Conceptions of Political Development

X Guy E. Swanson, "An Organizational Analysis of Collectivities," AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW 36, August 1971.

X Samuel Huntington, "Political Order and Political Decay," pp. 1-92 in Huntington, POLITICAL ORDER IN CHANGING SOCIETIES*.

Morton Fried, "On the Evolution of Social Stratification and the State," in Laumann, Siegel, and Hodge (eds.), THE LOGIC OF SOCIAL HIERARCHIES.

Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis," COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN SOCIOLOGY AND HISTORY 6, #4.

Charles Tilly, "Western State-Making and Theories of Political Transformation," in C. Tilly (ed.), THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL STATES IN WESTERN EUROPE*, Princeton U. Press, 1965, Chapter 9.

X Immanuel Wallerstein, THE MODERN WORLD-SYSTEM*.

X Charles Tilly (ed.), THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL STATES IN WESTERN EUROPE*.

X Perry Anderson, LINEAGES OF THE ABSOLUTIST STATE.

II. The Incorporation of New Elements in the State

A. Central Authority

X Barrington Moore, THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP*.

John Boli-Bennett, "Global Integration and the Rise of the Universal Omnivorous State"; John Meyer, "The World Polity and the Authority of the Nation-State"; and (X) George Thomas and John Meyer, "Regime Changes and State Power in an Intensifying World State System"; all in A. Bergesen (ed.), STUDIES OF THE MODERN WORLD-SYSTEM.

X Richard Rubinson, "Dependence, Government Revenue, and Economic Growth," Chapter 12 in J. Meyer and M. Hannan, NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE WORLD SYSTEM.

B. Interests: Creation and Mobilization

Theda Skocpol, STATES AND SOCIAL REVOLUTIONS* (selections).

Karl Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW 55, September 1961.

Stein Rokkan, 'The Mobilization of the Periphery," Chapter 6 in Rokkan, CITIZENS, ELECTIONS, PARTIES.

Robert Alford, "Class Voting in the Anglo-American Political Systems," and Immanuel Wallerstein, "Class, Tribe, and Party in West African Politics." In Lipset and Rokkan (eds.), PARTY SYSTEMS AND VOTER ALIGNMENTS.

Michael Hannan, "The Dynamics of Ethnic Boundaries in Modern States," Chapter 15 in Meyer and Hannan, NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE WORLD SYSTEM.

X Charles Tilly, "Collective Violence in European Perspective," and Morris Janowitz, "Patterns of Collective Racial Violence," in Graham and Gurr (eds.), VIOLENCE IN AMERICA*.

C. Legitimation

X Arthur Stinchcombe, CONSTRUCTING SOCIAL THEORIES, pp. 149-163.

Edward Shils, "Charisma, Order, and Status," in S. N. Eisenstadt (ed.), POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY.

X Reinhard Bendix, "Reflections of Charismatic Leadership," in Bendix (ed.), STATE AND SOCIETY.

X S. M. Lipset, THE FIRST NEW NATION, Part One.

John Boli-Bennett and John Meyer, "The Ideology of Childhood and the State," AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, December 1978.

Robert Wuthnow, "World Order and Religious Movements," Chapter 4 in A. Bergesen (ed.), STUDIES OF THE MODERN WORLD-SYSTEM.

D. The Construction of Citizenship

X Reinhard Bendix, NATION-BUILDING AND CITIZENSHIP*, Chapters 1-4.

X John Meyer, "The Effects of Education as an Institution," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, July 1977.

John Meyer, David Tyack, Joane Nagel, and Audri Gordon, "Public Education as Nation-Building in America," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, November 1979.

III. Political Behavior in Institutionalized Systems

A. Participation and Opinion

Norman Nie, Sidney Verba, and John Petrocik, THE CHANGING AMERICAN VOTER*, selections.

S. M. Lipset, POLITICAL MAN*, Chapters 6-7.

X G. DiPalma, APATHY AND PARTICIPATION.

X Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, THE CIVIC CULTURE* (abridged), Chapters 2-10.

B. Power Structure

Robert Dahl, WHO GOVERNS?*, Chapters 1-18.

Morris Zelditch, Jr., et al., "Decisions, Nondecisions, and Metadecisions," unpublished paper, Stanford University, 1979.

G. Wm. Domhoff, WHO RULES AMERICA?* (selections).

X Stanley Lieberson, "An Empirical Study of Military-Industrial Linkages," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY 76, 1971.

C. Guiding Myths

X William Kornhauser, THE POLITICS OF MASS SOCIETY, Chapters 1-3.

X Samuel Huntington, POLITICAL ORDER IN CHANGING SOCIETIES, Chapters 4 & 5.

Fall, 1981 **Alessandro Pizzorno**

Tues. & Thurs. at 9:00

Sociology 135
Survey Course in Political Sociology
Harvard University
Reading List

(LECTURE 1) 1. **General Introduction**

A. The State in modern society

(LECTURES 2,3) 2. **The debate about the scope and the effects of state intervention in the economy. The individualist, the liberal and the Marxist positions.**

Readings:

- *Friedman, Milton. Capitalism and Freedom.
  Chapters I, II, III, XIII; pp. 1-55; 196-202.
- *Galbraith, John K. The New Industrial State. Third Edition.
  Introduction: p. X-XXI; Chapters 1-5, 26-29, 34 & 35; pp. 1-61; 307-335; 392-414.
- *O'Connor, James. The Fiscal Crisis of the State.
  Chapters 1-3, pp. 1-96.

(LECTURES 4,5) 3. **The growth of the state as an apparatus.**

Readings:

- *Weber, Max. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (eds.) ("Politics as a Vocation" and "Bureaucracy"), Chapters IV, VIII; pp. 77-128; 196-240.
- *Jacoby, Henry. The Bureaucratization of the World (Entire book) 220 p
- *Wilson, James Q. "The Rise of the Bureaucratic State", N. Glazer and I. Kristol (eds.) The American Commonwealth, pp. 77-103. (Xerox on Reserve)

(LECTURE 6) 4. **The shaping of society by the state.**

4.1 The production and enforcement of norms.
Administrative and social control.

Readings:

- *Aubert, Vilhelm. Sociology of Law,
  Chapters 3, 4, 12, pp. 32-45; 127-141. (Copies on Reserve)
- Re-read *Weber, Max From Max Weber
  Chapter VIII, Section 7; pp. 216-221.
- Bayley, David. "Ironies of American Law Enforcement",
  Public Interest, 59, Spring 1980, pp. 45-56. (Xerox on Reserve)

(LECTURES 7,8) 4.2 The satisfaction of social needs. Economic policy and social policy. Comparative view of the welfare state.

- -

Readings:

*Tufte, Political Control of the Economy. (Entire book) 150 pp.
*Marshall, T.H. Class, Citizenship, Social Development
    Chapter XIII-The Welfare State & the Affluent Soc., pp. 280-302
    " XIV -The Welfare State - A Comparative Study,pp.303-323
*O'Connor, James The Fiscal Crisis of the State.
    Chapter 6; pp. 150-169.
*Friedman, Milton Capitalism and Freedom, Chapters 10,11; pp.161-189
*Flora, Peter & Arnold Heidenheimer (eds.) The Development of Welfare States in Europe & America
    Chapter 1, pp. 17-34 (Xerox on Reserve)
Lindblom, Charles Politics and Markets
    Chapters 1-6, pp. 3-89

B. Politics and the System of Private Interests

(LECTURES 9,10) 5. The Debate about democracy. Democracy and other forms of government. Governability of democracy.

Readings:

*Huntington, Samuel. "The democratic distemper", N. Glazer and I. Kristol (eds.) The American Commonwealth, pp.9-39. (Xerox on Reserve)
*Schumpeter, J. Capitalism, Socialism, Democracy
    Chapters XX - XXIII, pp. 232-296.
*Macpherson, C.P. The Real World of Democracy (Entire book) 67 p
Lindblom, Charles. Politics and Markets.(Rest of book) pp.93-35

(LECTURES 11,12) 6. The sources of conflict: division of labor, inequality, social classes

Readings:

*Marx, Karl; Engels, Frederick. The Marx-Engels Reader. Robert Tucker (ed) 2nd. Ed. Introduction: pp. XIX-XIII, 133-136, 146-200, 220, 469-500; 579-617.
*Weber, Max. From Max Weber ("Class, Status, & Party")pp.180-19
*Marshall, T.H. Class, Citizenship, Social Development
    Chapter IV - Citizenship and Social Class, pp. 71-134.

R

Fall, 1981
Soc. 135

Pizzorno

(LECTURES 13,14) 7. How interests get organized and represented: pressure groups, movements, associations, unions. The nature of pluralism.

Readings:

*Beer, Samuel. Modern British Politics, Chapters 1-4, Chapter 7, 12; pp. 3-125; 188-216; 318-351.
*Lowi, Theodore. The End of Liberalism Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8. pp. 3-156; pp. 214-249
McConnell, Grant. Private Power and American Democracy Chapters 5, 8, 9, 10. pp. 119-154; 246-368.
Pizzorno, A. "Interests and parties in pluralism" in Suzanne D. Berger (ed.) Organizing Interests in Western Europe, pp. 247-284. (Xerox on Reserve)
Schmitter, P. C. "Interest intermediation and regime governability in contemporary Western Europe and North America" in Suzanne D. Berger (ed.) Organizing Interests in Western Europe, pp. 285-327. (Xerox on Reserve)

(LECTURES 15,16,17) 8. How interests and ideas get coordinated: political parties. The cases of Social democratic, Communist, and American parties.

Readings:

*Blackmer, D. Communism in Italy and France Sections 3, 6, 15. pp. 87-142; 221-258; 575-640.
*Chambers, William. The American Party System, 2nd Edition,197 Chapters 6, 10, 11. pp. 152-181; 277-307; 308-357.
*Michels, Robert. Political Parties, Part I, Sect. A. Ch.1,2,3; Part II, Ch. 7; Part IV, Ch. 6. pp. 61-80; 188-202; 292-306.
*Roth, Guenther. The Social Democrats in Imperial Germany Chapters 7-10. pp. 159-284.
Beer, Samuel. Modern British Politics Chapters 4 and 8.
Chambers, William, The American Party System, 2nd Edition 1975, Chapter 1, 2. pp. 3-55.

(LECTURES 18,19) 9. Symbolic representation, charisma and democratic leadership. The case of the American presidency.

Readings:

*Ceaser, James. Presidential Selection: Theory and Development Introduction: pp. 3-40; Chapters 5 - Conclusion pp.213-353
*Weber, Max. From Max Weber, Chapter IX. "The Sociology of Charismatic Authority" pp. 245-252.
Wolfe, Alan. "Presidential Power and the Crisis of Modernization", Democracy, Vol 1, No.2(April 1981) pp.19-32 (Xerox on Reserve)

C. Political Participation

(LECTURE 20) 10. Participation as protest. Dissent, social movements, revolutions.

Readings:

*Gamson, W. The Strategy of Social Protest (Entire book) 143 pp.
Rimlinger, G. "Legitimation of Protest"
Comparative Studies in Society & History, 1960.
(Xerox on Reserve)

(LECTURE 21) 11. Forms of political and religious participation.

Readings:

*Martin, David. A General Theory of Secularization
Chapters 1, 2. pp. 1-99.

(LECTURES 22,23) 12. Discussion about the boundaries of the political.

Readings:

*Aristotle. The Politics. Book I. Book III.
*Hobbes, Thomas. Leviathan, Chapters 13 - 31.
*Rousseau. The Social Contract. Books I and II.

(LECTURE 24) 13. Summary and Conclusion.

*Readings marked with an asterisk are required, the others recommended.

All readings are on reserve at Hilles, Lamont

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COURSE: Political Sociology - The Classical Tradition
PROFESSOR: Irving Louis Horowitz - Rutgers University
LISTING: Graduate Course 920:641 (New Brunswick)
PLACE: Murray Hall -- Room: 045
TIME: Wednesdays 7:00 P.M. - 10:00 P.M.
SEMESTER: Spring (January 1984-May 1984)

Basic Texts:*

Robert E. Dowse and John A. Hughes. POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Irving Louis Horowitz. FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Philo Wasburn. POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY: APPROACHES, CONCEPTS AND HYPOTHESES

Sheldon Wolin. POLITICS AND VISION

Basic Readers:**

Reinhard Bendix. STATE AND SOCIETY

George E. Kourvetaris and Betty A. Dobratz. POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

C. Wright Mills. IMAGES OF MAN

Supplemental Works:***

1st Week: THE EMERGENCE OF AUTONOMOUS POLITICS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1715-1800)

Peter Gay. VOLTAIRE'S POLITICS
Kingsley Martin. FRENCH LIBERAL THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
Alfred Cobban. ROUSSEAU AND THE MODERN STATE
J. L. Talmon. TOTALITARIAN DEMOCRACY

2nd Week: POLITICS AS BOURGEOIS REASON (1800-1848)

J. L. Talmon. POLITICAL MESSIANISM
Herbert Marcuse. REASON AND REVOLUTION
Cesar Graña. BOHEMIAN VERSUS BOURGEOIS
Carl von Clausewitz. ON WAR

3rd Week: POLITICS AS PROLETARIAN ANTI-REASON (1848-1914)

Raymond Aron. THE OPIUM OF THE INTELLECTUALS
Peter Gay. THE DILEMMA OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM
Bertrand Russell. FREEDOM VERSUS ORGANIZATION
Irving Louis Horowitz. RADICALISM AND THE REVOLT AGAINST REASON

4th Week: MODERN TOTALITARIANISM: LEFT, RIGHT AND CENTER (1914-1945)

Hannah Arendt. THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM
J. A. Schumpeter. CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY
Karl Mannheim. IDEOLOGY AND UTOPIA
Karl Popper. THE OPEN SOCIETY AND ITS ENEMIES (Volume 2)

5th Week: CONSERVATISM: FROM TRADITIONALISM TO NATIONALISM

Clinton Rossiter. CONSERVATISM IN AMERICA
Russell Kirk. THE CONSERVATIVE MIND
Peter Viereck. CONSERVATISM REVISITED
Daniel J. Boorstin. DEMOCRACY AND ITS DISCONTENTS

6th Week: SOCIALISM: THE DIALECTIC FROM REFORM AND REVOLUTION

C. Wright Mills. THE MARXISTS
George Lichtheim. MARXISM
Alexander Gray. THE SOCIALIST TRADITION
Paul Hollander. THE MANY FACES OF SOCIALISM

7th Week: LIBERALISM: FROM FAITH IN PROGRESS TO THE PROGRESSIVE FAITH

Isiah Berlin. TWO CONCEPTS OF LIBERTY
Charles Frankel. THE CASE FOR MODERN MAN
Louis Hartz. THE LIBERAL TRADITION IN AMERICA
John Dewey. FREEDOM AND CULTURE

8th Week: ANARCHISM: THE POLITICS OF ANTI-POLITICS

Irving Louis Horowitz. THE ANARCHISTS
George Woodcock. ANARCHISM
Vernon Richards. MALATESTA: HIS LIFE AND IDEAS
James Joll. THE ANARCHISTS

9th Week: COMMUNISM: THE MASSIFICATION OF DICTATORSHIP

Alex Inkeles. SOCIAL CHANGE IN SOVIET RUSSIA
Milovan Djilas. THE NEW CLASS
Edgar Snow. THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER
Leonard Schapiro. THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE SOVIET UNION

10th Week: FASCISM: THE MILITARIZATION OF DICTATORSHIP

Ernst Nolte. THREE FACES OF FASCISM
Franz Neumann. BEHEMOTH
Giovanni Gentile. GENESIS AND STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY
A. James Gregor. THE FASCIST PERSUASION IN RADICAL POLITICS

11th Week: POLITICS AND COMMUNITY CULTURE

Robert A. Dahl. WHO GOVERNS?
Floyd Hunter. COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE
Ira Sharkansky. THE MALIGNED STATES
Aaron Wildavsky. THE REVOLT AGAINST THE MASSES

12th Week: POLITICS AND THE NATIONAL CULTURE

David Riesman. ABUNDANCE FOR WHAT?
Seymour Martin Lipset. THE FIRST NEW NATION
James MacGregor Burns. THE DEADLOCK OF DEMOCRACY
Giuseppe diPalma. APATHY AND PARTICIPATION

13th Week: POLITICS AND DEMOCRACY

Franz Neumann. THE DEMOCRATIC AND THE AUTHORITARIAN STATE
Karl Mannheim. FREEDOM, POWER, AND DEMOCRATIC PLANNING
Hannah Arendt. ON REVOLUTION
John Rawls. A THEORY OF JUSTICE

14th Week: POLITICS AND MILITARISM

Anatol Rapoport. STRATEGY AND CONSCIENCE
Herman Kahn. ON ESCALATION
Thomas Schelling. THE STRATEGY OF CONFLICT
Stanley Hoffman. THE STATE OF WAR

15th Week: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

John Strachey. THE END OF EMPIRE
Joseph LaPalombara. POLITICS WITHIN NATIONS
Peter Worsley. THE THIRD WORLD
David Apter. THE POLITICS OF MODERNIZATION

NOTE to Students: In addition to the required texts for each section, it is suggested that you familiarize yourself with the supplementary works listed. Those will form the core of much classroom discussion. There will be a term paper. The specific subject may be chosen by yourself from the general subject of one of the fifteen weekly assignments. Before proceeding, your topic must be approved by me. The timetable is as follows: Topic selection and approval at the end of the fifth week. First draft of paper due at the end of the tenth week. Final draft of paper due at the end of the fifteenth week (date of final examination).

* Basic Texts are on overnight reserve.
** Basic Readers are on three-day reserve.
*** Supplemental Works are on one-week reserve.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Sociology-Political Science G6047x
Fall 1984
Tues 2:10-4

Allan Silver
414 Faywr
Office hours: Mon 4-6

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY: TRADITIONS AND CONCEPTS

An introduction to seminal writings and central issues in the political sociology of the West. Sociology-Political Science G6048y, which considers empirical studies and interpretive issues in selected substantive areas, assumes familiarity with the materials of this course.

* * *

I. *Political Sociology and the Sociology of Politics: basic approaches*

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Chs X, XI, XIII.

Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, pp. 19-53, 69-79.

Karl Marx, excerpt from "Preface to 'A Contribution to Political Economy'", in Robert C. Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, pp. 4-5.

Sidney Hook, "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 10, pp. 213-230 (concluding section of article on "Materialism".)

Arthur F. Bentley, *The Process of Government*, Ch. VII.

Niklas Luhmann, "Politics as a Social System", in *The Differentiation of Society* (trans. Hdmes and Larmore), pp. 138-165.

Randall Collins, "A Comparative Approach to Political Sociology", in Reinhard Bendix *et al*., (eds.), *State and Society*, pp. 42-67.

II. *Liberal Political Sociology: individualism, association, pluralism*

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*
Volume I: Author's preface to 12th edition (in Vintage edition), Chs. III, IV, VIII (only section on "Advantages of the Federal System"), IX, X, XII, XIV, XV.
Volume II: Second Book - Chs. I, II, V, VII-IX, XVIII-XX.
Third Book -- Chs. I, II, V, VIII, XIII, XVIII, XXI.
Fourth Book - Entire.

Georg Simmel, "The Web of Group Affiliations", in *Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations*, pp. 127-195.

III. Liberal Political Sociology: property, inequality, citizenship

Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Book I, Ch. XI, "Conclusion of the Chapter".

John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Book II, Ch. I (sec. 1), III, IV; Book IV, Ch. VII (skim sections on co-operatives).

________________, *On Liberty*, Chs. I-III.

L.T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, Chs. II, VI-VIII.

Frank Knight, *The Ethics of Competition*, Ch. 2.

T.H. Marshall, "Class and Citizenship", in *Class, Citizenship and Development*.

IV. Conservative Political Sociology: tradition, hierarchy, authority

Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, Ch. IV (parts 1-3)

Joseph de Maistre, "Essay on the Generative Principle of Constitutions", in Jack Lively (ed.), *The Works of Joseph de Maistre*, pp. 147-182.

Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, Ch. 7: "Introduction to the Edition of 1872" (up to paragraph beginning "The events of 1870...")

Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, Chs. XI-XIV.

V. Classical Marxism: political sociology as political economy

Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I: Chs. 1 (secs. 1,2,4); 6-8, 10 (secs. 1,2), 13-14, 16, 23, 25 (secs. 1-4), 26-32.
Vol. III: Ch. 52.

________, excerpts on "crisis theory" from *Theories of Surplus Value*, in Robert Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader* pp. 443-465 (read for the general character of the argument).

VI. Classical Marxism: ideological and political analysis

Karl Marx, *The German Ideology*, Part I, in Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, pp. 146-200.

________, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* in *Surveys from Exile: Political Writings*, Vol. II ed. David Fernbach), pp. 143-249.

VII. *Elite Theory: the founders*

Vilfredo Pareto, *Mind and Society*, two volumes: Sections 2025, 2041-2, 2053-9, 2178-80, 2183-6, 2190-7, 2231-51, 2254, 2257-9, 2274-8.

Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, Chs. II, III (secs. 1-8)

Roberto Michels, *Political Parties*, Part One: Chs. I-III, X; Part Two: Chs. I, V, VII; Part Four: Ch. III; Part Six: Chs. I, II, IV.

Peter Nettl, "The German Social Democratic Party as a Political Model", *Past & Present*, No. 30, 1965, pp. 65-95.

VIII. *Max Weber: politics and social structure*

Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation", in Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), *From Max Weber*, pp. 77-128.

________, *Economy and Society* (eds. G. Roth and C. Wittich) Vol. II, pp. 901-1003, 1381-1462. (Citation is to the paperback edition in two volumes; the hard-back edition, in three volumes, has identical pagination).

IX. *Max Weber: conceptual approach*

Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* (trans. Shils and Finch), pp. 50-112.

________, *Economy and Society*, Vol. I, pp. 26-28, 31-33, 36-38, 52-56, 212-231, 241-249, 251-254, 262-271.

X. *Liberal Revisionism: citizenship and participation*

Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, Chs. XXI-XXIII.

E.E. Schattschneider, *The Semi-Sovereign People*, Chs. I-III.

Morris Janowitz and Gerald Suttles, "The Social Ecology of Citizenship", in Rosemary C. Sarri and Y. Hasenfled (eds.), *The Management of Human Services*, pp. 80-104.

William M. Sullivan, *Reconstructing Public Philosophy*, Chs. 1, 7.

John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems*, Chs. IV, V.

David Price, "Community and Control: critical democratic theory in the Progressive period", *American Political Science Review*, 68 (4) 1974, pp. 1663-78.

George Armstrong Kelly, "Who Needs a Theory of Citizenship?", *Daedalus*, Fall 1979, pp. 21-36.

XI. Liberal Revisionism, cont'd: the logic of industrialism

Morris Janowitz, Social Control of the Welfare State, Chs. I, IV-VI.

Fred Hirsch, Social Limits to Growth, Introd., Chs. III, VIII-XII.

XII. Marxist Revisionism: class and state

E.O. Wright, "Varieties of Marxist Conceptions of Class", Politics & Society 9 (3) 1980, pp. 323-370.

Giorgio Gagliani, "How Many Working Classes?", American Journal of Sociology, 87 (2) September 1981, pp. 257-285.

Massimo Paci, "Class Structure in Italian Society", Archives Européenes de Sociologie, XX (1) 1979, pp. 40-55.

Claus Offe and Volker Ronge, "Theses on the Theory of the State", New German Critique, #6, Fall 1975, pp. 138-147.

Robert Alford, "Paradigms of Relations between State and Society", in Leon Lindberg (ed.), Stress and Contradiction in Modern Capitalism, pp. 145-160.

Fred Block, "The Ruling Class Does Not Rule", Socialist Revolution, 33, 1977, pp 6-28.

XIII. Marxist Revisionism: culture and economy

Antonio Gramsci, either "The Modern Prince" or "State and Civil Society", in Selections from Prison Notebooks, ed. Hoare and Smith, pp. 123-205 or 210-276,

Jürgen Habermas, Legitimation Crisis, pp. 33-94.

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, "The Crisis of Liberal Capitalism: the case of the United States", Politics & Society 11 (1) 1982, pp. 51-94.

XIV. Power, Conflict and Competition

Max Weber, Economy and Society, I, pp. 635-640, 901-926, 941-955.
II ("The City"), pp. 1236-43, 1248-56, 1266-7, 1276-82, 1292-96, 1301-7, 1319-31.

Georg Simmel, "Conflict", in Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations, pp. 13-85.

SYLLABUS
Sociology 498/898
CLASS, POWER & ELITES

Dr. Betty A. Dobratz
Oldfather 723
Phone: 472-1197
Office Hrs. Tu 2-3 p.m.
Th 11 - 11:45 a.m.
or by appointment

University of Nebraska
Spring, 1983
12:30-1:45 p.m.
501 Bldg. #2

TEXTS: Martin Marger, Elites and Masses (abbreviated on outline as M)
George A. Kourvetaris & Betty A. Dobratz, Society and Politics (abbreviated as K & D)
David R. Simon & Stanley Eitzen, Elite Deviance (abbreviated as S & E)
Other readings will be available at Kinko's shortly after class begins.

OTHER BOOKS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

- Classes, Power, and Conflict, ed. by Anthony Giddens & David Held
- Society and Politics: Readings in Political Sociology, ed. by Richard Braungart
- Political Sociology: Readings in Research & Theory, ed. by George Kourvetaris & Betty Dobratz
- Political Sociology by Robert Dowse and John A. Hughes
- Foundations of Political Sociology by Irving L. Horowitz
- Political Society by Ted G. Goertzel
- The Capitalist State & The Politics of Class by Albert Szymanski
- Introduction to Political Sociology by Anthony Orum
- Political Sociology by Philo Wasburn
- Power and Discontent by William A. Gamson
- Class and Politics in the U.S. by Richard Hamilton
- Power in Societies, ed. by Marvin Olsen
- Society and Politics by David Segal

COURSE OBJECTIVES:

An effort will be made to critically examine and analyze the concepts of class, power, and elites. The emphasis will be upon American society, but students are strongly encouraged to do their term papers on other societies if they so desire. In the course greater attention will be given to the elitist and class frameworks than to the pluralist approach. A political economy approach will be used for the study of class, power and elites. Students should become aware of the nature and consequences of politics and come to realize how important the concepts of classes, power, and elites are in understanding all aspects of social life.

REQUIREMENTS OF THE COURSE:

Attendance and class participation are required and all assigned readings are to be completed by the time of the class meeting to enable the class to discuss the material. There will be two exams during the course and one final comprehensive examination scheduled during the final exam period. The student should make arrangements with the instructor for a makeup before any exam is given. Any time I cannot be reached in my office you should leave a message with the sociology department. This message should include your inquiry and how I can contact you.

Students are required to participate in some project on politics which will involve both an oral presentation and a written paper. Students are encouraged to participate in a group project based on one of several books related to politics. (See additional handout on the book. If students wish to do a different kind of project, they should talk to me during the first or second week of the course.) Students will be placed in groups of 2-3, and each group will be responsible for giving an oral presentation on their topic to the class and turning in a written paper (including appropriate footnotes and citations). Plagiarism is not allowed and if you do not fully understand the meaning of plagiarism, please ask or see me. Each group is to present the major ideas of the book, relate the book to the overall course, and give ideas from other books or articles relevant to the book they are presenting in order to enrich their presentation. The length of the oral presentation will vary somewhat but each student in the group should present material for approximately 10-15 minutes. Students may use notes, charts, handouts, etc., but the oral presentation should not simply be read. Each group must present to the class at least one handout which outlines the major ideas of the group project. (Consult handout on projects for more detailed information.)

Students who are not participating in the presentation are expected to take good notes and ask questions at the end of the presentation. Information from the oral presentations should be given when appropriate for the written examinations.

Students are also required to do a separate individual term paper of 10-15 pages of text. (Written text not including references, tables etc. must be at least 10 pages.)

Since part of your grade is based on attendance, a sheet for attendance will be passed out. You are responsible for making sure that you sign the sheet. Only you may sign the sheet. If you have an excused absence, please provide me with your written note concerning the date(s) and any formal medical excuse where appropriate. You are responsible for providing me with written notification of an excused absence immediately upon your return to class.

GRADING PROCEDURE:

Your final course grade will be based on the following work:

First exam: 100 points
Second exam: 100 points
Oral Presentation: 50 points
Written Presentation: 50 points (due one class period after written presentation; must be typed)
Term Paper: 100 points (must be typed)
Final Examination: 150 points
Class Attendance & Discussion: 30 points
Total points = 580

$$\frac{\text{Number of points earned}}{\text{Number of points possible}} = \text{percentage score} = \text{letter grade}$$

Course Grades	Points
A+ = 97%+	563
A = 90%	522
B+ = 87%	505
B = 80%	464
C+ = 77%	447

Course Grades	Points
C = 70%	406
D+ = 67%	389
D = 60%	348
F = less than 60%; below 348 points	

If you are having problems in the course, please see me immediately. Do not wait until the last minute because it is difficult to solve problems after most of the semester has been completed.

All graduate students are required to talk with me concerning additional requirements and readings for the class. Do this by the third class period.

CLASS OUTLINE

Reading are to be completed on the day noted to facilitate class discussion.

Introduction to the course

Jan. 11 Assignment Marger (M) Chap. 1

I. THE MEANING OF CLASS, POWER, AND ELITES

Jan. 13 Assignment: M Chap. 2

II. THEORETICAL/CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

A. Pluralist

Jan. 18 Assignment: M Chap. 3 and Domhoff, Chap. 9 "Where a Pluralist Goes Wrong" pp. 309-55 in The Higher Circles

B. Elitist

Jan. 20 Assignment: M Chap. 4

Jan. 25 Assignment: S & E, Chap. 1

C. Class/Marxist Model

Jan. 27 Assignment: M Chap. 5 and Liazos, People First, Chap. 2 Classes and Inequality, pp. 23-49

Feb. 1 Assignment: R. Flacks & G. Turkel, "Radical Sociology: The Emergence of Neo-Marxian Perspectives in U.S. Sociology." Annual Review of Sociology, 1978, 4:193:238.

D. Comparisons and Contrasts of the 3 Theoretical Frameworks

Feb. 3 Assignment: K & D pp. 11-14; 17-25 and M pp. 111-114

E. The Classical Views of Classes and Elites

Feb. 8 Assignment: Karl Marx: Short Selections from The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, The German Ideology, The Poverty of Philosophy, The Manifesto of the Communist Party, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, 'Value, Price, and Profit' and Capital, vols. 1 & 3, reprinted in Classes, Power, and Conflict, ed. by Anthony Giddens and David Held, pp. 12-39.

Feb. 10 Assignments: Max Weber: Selections from Economy & Society, vols. 1 & 2, and General Economic History, reprinted in Classes, Power and Conflict, edited by Anthony Giddens and David Held, pp. 60-86, and G. Mosca: Selection from The Ruling Class, reprinted in Society and Politics: Readings in Political Sociology ed. by Richard Braungart, pp. 105-111.

February 15 EXAM ONE 100 points

F. Contemporary Views of Class, State, and Power

Feb. 17 Assignment: D. Gold, C. Lo, E. Wright, "Recent Development in Marxist Theories of the Capitalist State"(Parts I, II) Monthly Review 27 (Oct): 29-43; (Nov): 36-51.

Feb. 22 FIRST GROUP REPORTS

Feb. 24 Assignment: Goran Therborn, "What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules" Insurgent Sociologist, Vol. 6:3-16.

III. STUDIES USING THE VARIOUS THEORETICAL APPROACHES

A. National Level

March 1 Assignment: Simon & Eitzen, Chaps. 2-4 & SECOND GROUP REPORTS

March 3 Assignment: K & D pp. 39-52; 67-80

March 8 Assignment: M Chap. 9 and THIRD GROUP REPORTS

March 10 Finish National Studies

B. Community Power Studies

March 15 Assignment: M Chap. 10 and K & D pp. 80-84 Review for Second Exam

March 17 SECOND EXAM

IV. CORPORATE AND TRANSNATIONAL POWER, THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, AND MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS

March 29 Assignment: M Chap. 6; K & D pp. 84-89

March 31 Assignment: Part I pp. 19-61 Corporate Power of Crisis in American Institutions ed. by J. Skolnick & E. Currie, incl. "Pinto Madness" by M. Dowie, pp. 21-37, "The Food Monster" by D. Zwerdling, pp. 38-53 and "Do They Really Kill Babies" by F. M. Lappé and J. Collins pp. 54-61.
Also: R. Barnet & R. Muller, "Multinational Corporations." The New Yorker, Dec. 2, 1974, excerpted from their book Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations xeroxed on pp. 315-21 of The Social World.

April 5 FOURTH GROUP ORAL REPORTS

Assignment: M Chap. 7

April 7 Assignment: S & E Chap. 5 Film (tentatively) on Controlling Interests

April 12 Assignment: S & E Chap. 6

V. NATIONAL SECURITY, POLITICAL & MILITARY REPRESSION

April 14 Assignment: S & E Chap. 7; Philip Agee, "Introduction: Where Myths Lead to Murder" pp. 17-26 and "Where Do We Go From Here?" pp. 250-85 of Dirty Work: The CIA in Western Europe, ed. by Phillip Agee and Louis Wolf.

April 19 Assignment: Liazos, People First, Chap. 6 Imperialism & Hunger pp. 135-66 and Part XI National Security from Crisis in Am. Institutions ed. by J. Skolnick & E. Currie pp. 494-501, incl. "The Search for National Security" by R. J. Barnet

VI. NON-CONVENTIONAL MEANS TO POWER: MOVEMENTS AND REVOLUTIONS

April 21 Assignment: K & D pp. 52-65

April 26 Assignment: M Chap. 10

April 28 REVIEW FOR FINAL EXAM

Final Exam as scheduled in Schedule Book unless unanimous consent of the class.

Dr. Betty Dobratz
Spring 1983

INFORMATION ON GROUP PROJECT ON CLASS, POWER, AND ELITES

Each student is required to participate in a project on politics. Choose this group alternative only if you enjoy working in a group, have enough time to be flexible concerning group meetings, and will show a sense of group responsibility. All persons are expected to contribute to the group in an equal manner. If someone does not contribute or cooperate, I request the rest of the group to inform me.

Many students will participate in a group project based on one of several books related to class power, and elites. If you wish to do a different kind of project or to use a book other than those listed below, you should talk to me during the first or second week of the course. Students will be placed in groups of 2-3 students and each group will be responsible for giving an oral representation on their topic to the class and turning in a written paper (including appropriate footnotes and citations). Plagiarism is not allowed and if you do not fully understand the meaning of plagiarism, please ask or see me. Each group is to present the major ideas of the book, relate the book to the ideas of the course, and give other books or articles relevant to the book they are presenting in order to enrich their presentation. The length of the oral presentation will vary somewhat but each student in the group should present material for approximately 10-15 minutes. Students may use notes, charts, handouts, etc., but the oral presentation should not simply be read. Students in group presentations should compose a general introduction and conclusion for their oral presentation and written version. It is important that your presentation show some sense of continuity rather than being completely disjointed. The group must provide at least one handout which outlines the major ideas of the group presentation.

The written paper is essentially a restatement of your oral presentation in a more formal written manner. You are expected to turn in two copies of your written paper. One copy I keep and one copy you will be given back. You will receive a grade for the oral participation and a grade for the written paper.

A general description of the books which may be used for the panel presentation are listed below:

Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail by Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, Vintage, 1977.

This book analyzes four mass movements of the poor - two from the Great Depression and two from the postwar period. The authors conclude that what the poor win in American politics, they win by mass defiance, not by the regular political system.

Who's Running America: The Reagan Years by Thomas Dye, 3rd edition, 1983, Prentice Hall.

The author examines a wide variety of evidence in order to evaluate both the pluralist and elitist perspectives of who has power in the U.S. In some ways he supports the elitist view but he also provides evidence in favor of the pluralist interpretation. Many biographical sketches of elite members are presented.

Power and Powerless by Michael Parenti. N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1978

This book focuses on the social arrangements of power which are important in political socialization, class dominance, and social control. Elite dominance, unequal distribution of power resources and the propagation of orthodoxy are important topics Parenti covers.

Movers and Shakers: The Study of Community Power by Philip J. Trounstine and Terry Christensen.New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982.

This book is a study of community power in San Jose, California. Various theories of community power and methods for examining who has power are discussed. San Jose is placed within the national context of power relations.

States and Social Revolutions by Theda Skocpol. N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

This book discusses various theoretical approaches to the study of revolution and advocates a structuralist framework. The author then applies her framework to the French, Russian, and Chinese Revolutions.

Democracy for a Few by Michael Parenti, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1980.

This book presents information on the American policy process with attention given to the Presidency, Congress, corporate interest groups and the crisis within the political economy. The historical development of American politics and the politics-economic aspects of public policy are discussed.

The Higher Circles by G. William Domhoff. N.Y.: Vintage Books, 1970.

This is one of Domhoff's early books on the elite in which he examines the upper class as a social class and a governing class. It discusses how the power elite makes foreign policy and helps shape social legislation.

Men and Women of the Corporation by Elizabeth Moss Kanter. Basic Books, 1977.

This book considers the topic of organizational or corporate power. She considers the advantages of a social structural model of power over the traditional social psychological and individual frameworks. The development of white collar administrative classes and bureaucratic powerlessness are discussed. Discrimination against females is viewed as both a consequence of organizational pressures and individual prejudice.

The Powers That Be, by G. William Domhoff, 1978, Random House.

Domhoff focuses on the role of the ruling class in America and considers how it dominates government and subordinates other social classes. He focuses on four general processes that give the ruling class power: special interest process, policy formation process, candidate selection process, and the ideology process.

You should look over the books at the bookstore and decide which books you are most interested in. By the third class meeting you should turn in a list of three books (in rank order) that you are most interested in reading and reviewing. If you wish to do your own project, you turn in to me the name(s) of the book or a topic you are interested in researching.

SC 570
Political Sociology

Boston College

William A. Gamson
Spring, 1983

Course Syllabus

The seminar will focus on issues of competing interpretations of American politics, of the organization and strategy of group involved in efforts at social change, the shaping of political consciousness, and the management of world conflicts. Class discussions will concern theoretical controversies within the field, the analysis of contemporary political events that bear on the arguments discussed, and current attempts by citizen groups to achieve social justice.

Class Format

For most sessions, the class will divide into small, student-led discussion groups for part of the session. The instructor will rotate among these smaller groups. During the second half of each session, we will reconvene in plenary to share the results of these independent discussions. To help in setting up these discussion groups, you will be asked to fill out a brief questionnaire which provides relevant background information. (These small discussion groups will not begin until the third or fourth session, when the course enrollment has stabilized.)

Requirements

There will be no exams but there are three short essays (maximum length = 4 pages) and a series of brief summaries of core readings (maximum length = 1 page).

Summaries. The format of the class involves discussions that begin with a core reading. My past experience has been that, in spite of good intentions, many if not most students will not have read the core reading by class time without some mechanism of accountability. The summary is intended to supply this. For each core reading, you will be required to provide a summary answering the following questions:

a. What is the central issue(s) being discussed?
b. What is the author's thesis or main point on the issue(s)?
c. (optional) Are you convinced by the argument and, if not, what is the nature of your reservations?

Collectively, these summaries will constitute 25% of your final grade. They will not be graded separately but you will receive 2 points for any acceptable summary handed in at or before the class session in which it is relevant, 1 point for any summary handed in later, and 0 if you fail to hand in a summary for that particular core reading. If you hand the summary in on time but I feel that you have missed the point of the reading, you will receive 1 point but will have the option of redoing it for full credit (2 points). Your grade for this part of the course will reflect the percentage of possible points that you earned, following the normal convention (95% = A, 90% = A-, 85% = B, 80% = B-, etc.).

Essays. Three short essays are required as described below (following sections 2,4, and 7 of the course). These essays will require some additional "special" readings, depending on which question you choose to address. However, you will not find the answers to these questions in any reading: typically, they address issues that are still unsettled and on which there is no clear consensus in the field. Since they have no "right" answer, you will be evaluated on the clarity of your argument and your ability to anticipate and deal with counter arguments that might be raised. Each essay is worth 25% of your final grade.

Familiarity with Social Movement Organization.

Some of the essays and class discussions will assume that you are familiar in some detail with one or more groups or movements engaged in efforts at social change. If you have actually participated in such efforts or have read about them in detail, you will have no problem with this aspect of the course. If you have never participated or read in detail about any such group, you will be handicapped unless you undertake one of the following remedies:

a. Join a group at BC or elsewhere that is involved in an effort at social change. Of course, you should choose a group that is consistent with your own values and personal inclinations. I will be happy to discuss possibilities with you and to make suggestions.
b. Read a detailed history of some group or movement. Again, your personal interests should dictate the choice and I will be happy to suggest good historical accounts of groups that might interest you.

Reading

Most of the core readings are contained in a course pack that can be purchased through the Sociology Department., Room 417, McGuinn (see Barbara Lloyd); ask for the course pack for SC 570. The remaining core readings are contained in three paperbacks which are available in the BC bookstore:

E.E. Schattschneider, The Semi-Sovereign People Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

William Domhoff, Who Rules America? Prentice Hall.

William A. Gamson, Bruce Fireman, and Steven Rytina, Encounters with Unjust Authority, Dorsey Press.

The additional readings associated with the various essay questions are on reserve in the library. Many of them appear in inexpensive paperbacks and I have asked the bookstore to order limited numbers of many of these.

The various sections of the course also list "other relevant readings." You are not expected to do these readings; they are listed for convenience since I will sometimes refer to them in class. They provide a more extended reading list in political sociology.

Content

1. Central concepts and themes.
   1.1 Power, influence and social control.

   Core reading:Coursepack: Gamson, Power and Discontent, Ch. 1, pp. 1-19.

   1.2 Authority

   Core reading: Coursepack: Gamson, Power and Discontent, Ch. 2 (part), pp. 21-32.

1.3 Efficacy, trust, and mobilization.

Core reading: Coursepack: Gamson, Power and Discontent, Ch. 3, pp. 39-58.

1.4 Interests.

Core reading: Coursepack, Grenville Wall, "The Concept of Interest in Politics," pp. 487-510.

Other relevant readings:

James S. Coleman, Power and the Structure of Society, W.W. Norton, 1974,

Robert A. Dahl, "The Concept of Power", Behavioral Science 2(July, 1957 201-18).

Harold D. Lasswell, and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society, Yale University Press, 1950.

Jack H. Nagel, The Descriptive Analysis of Power, Yale University Press, 1975.

William A. Gamson, Power and Discontent, Dorsey, 1968.

Mary Rogers, "Instrumental and Infra-Resources: The Bases of Power" American Journal of Sociology, 79 (1974), pp. 1418-33.

Arthur L. Stinchcombe Constructing Social Theories, Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1968.

2. Theoretical Overview.

2.1 Mass society and collective behavior theory.

Core reading: Coursepack: From Gamson and Modigliani, Conceptions of Social Life, Ch. 11: Why Do People Rebel?, pp. 496-511, and Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, pp. 517-27.

2.2 Theory of pluralist democracy.

Core reading: Coursepack: Dahl, Ch. 10: Conflict and Conciliation, pp. 260-231.

2.3 Resource mobilization theory.

Core reading: Coursepack, From Gamson and Modigliani, Conceptions of Social Life, Charles Tilly, The Chaos of the Living City, pp. 535-44.

Other relevant readings:

William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, The Free Press, 1959.

Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian, Collective Behavior, Prentice-Hall, 1972.

Neil J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior, The Free Press, 1963.

Robert A. Dahl, Pluralist Democracy in the United States, Rand-McNally, 1967.

Charles Tilly, From Mobilization to Revolution, Addison-Wesley, 1978.

Anthony Oberschall, "Theories of Social Conflict," pp. 291-315, in Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 4 (1978), Annual Review, Inc.

J. Craig Jenkins, "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements," pp. 527-553 in Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 9 (1983), Annual Reviews, Inc.

John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization in Social Movements: A Partial Theory," American Journal of Sociology 82 (May, 1977), pp. 1212-1239.

Essay #1: Approximate due date: February 23. Maximum length = four double spaced, typewritten pages.

Answer one of the following questions. The question assumes the core readings plus the special readings attached to it:

1. The concept of resources is an important one for several writers. Yet the concept is vaguely defined and difficult to use in research unless two related problems are solved:
   (a) What is a unit of political resources? and
   (b) How does one compare or convert units of different types of resources?

   Imagine that you were doing research in which you wanted to determine which of two political antagonists had more resources. How would you handle the two problems above in your research? (Pick a group that you are familiar with to make the discussion concrete.)

   Special readings:

   William A. Gamson, Power and Discontent, Ch. 5: Influence in Repose, pp. 93-109.

   Charles Tilly, From Mobilization to Revolution, pp. 69-78.

2. The concept of mobilization is also a central one for many writers. Imagine that you were doing research in which you wanted to predict whether a particular future happening would increase or decrease the level of mobilization of a group you are studying. You also want to determine whether the group is more or less mobilized than some rival or antagonist. How would you measure the level of mobilization before and after the happening and the relative level between different groups? What would you use as indicators of degree of mobilization? (Pick a group that you are familiar with to make the discussion concrete.)

   Special readings:

   William A. Gamson, Coursepack: The Strategy of Social Protest, beginning of Ch. 2: pp. 14-15.

   Charles Tilly, Coursepack: From Mobilization to Revolution, pp. 69-84.

3. Power in American Society.

3.1 The role of elections in pluralist theory.

Core reading: coursepack: Parsons, Voting and the Equilibrium of the American Political System, pp. 204-236.

3.2 The scope of conflict.

Core reading: Bookstore: E.E. Schattschneider, The Semi-Sovereign People, Ch. 1-4, pp. 1-77.

3.3 Ruling class or power elite theory.

Core reading: Bookstore: William Domhoff, Who Rules America?, pp. 63-114. 138-56.

3.4 The military-industrial complex.

Core reading: coursepack: Pilisuk and Hayden, Is There a Military-Industrial Complex which Prevents Peace?, pp. 580-91.

Other relevant readings:

Bell, Daniel, "Is There a Ruling Class in America?" pp. 43-67 in The End of Ideology, The Free Press, 1960.

Galbraith, John Kenneth, American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power, Riverside Press, 1956.

Mills, C. Wright, The Power Elite, Oxford University Press, 1956.

O'Connor, James, The Fiscal Crisis of the State, St. Martins, 1973.

Poulantzas, Nicos, Political Power and Social Change, New Left Books, 1973.

Rose, Arnold, The Power Structure, Oxford University Press, 1967.

Wiley, Norbert, "America's Unique Class Politics: The Interplay of the Labor, Credit and Commodity Markets," American Sociological Review, Vol. 32 (Aug., 1967) pp. 529-541.

Gold, David; Lo, Clarence Y.H.; and Wright, Erik Olin, "Recent Developments in Marxist Theories of the Capitalist State," Parts I & II, Monthly Review, 1975, Vol. 27, No. 5, pp. 29-43 and No. 6, pp. 36-51.

Habermas, Jurgen, Legitimation Crisis, Beacon Press, 1975.

Lowi, Theodore J., The Politics of Disorder, Basic Books, 1971.

Lieberson, Stanley, "An Empirical Study of Military-Industrial Linkages," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 76 (Jan., 1971) pp. 562-583.

Wolfe, Alan, The Limits of Legitimacy, The Free Press, 1977,

Wright, James D., The Dissent of the Governed: Alienation and Democracy in America, Academic Press, 1976.

4. Organization and strategy in collective action.

4.1 The role of organizations in militancy.

Core reading: Coursepack: Piven and Cloward, Poor People's Movements, pp. IX-XXIV and 1-37.

4.2 Free riders and selective incentives.

Core reading: Coursepack: Olson, The Logic of Collective Action, pp. 1-22, 132-67.

4.3 Cooptation.

Core reading: Coursepack: Gamson, Power and Discontent, pp. 135-42.

Other relevant readings:

Russell Hardin, Collective Action, Resources for the Future, 1982.

Bruce Fireman and William A. Gamson, "Utilitarian Logic in the Resource Mobilization Perspective" in Mayer N. Zald and John B. McCarthy (eds) The Dynamics of Social Movements, Winthrop, 1979, pp. 8-44.

William A. Gamson, "Organizing the Poor", Theory and Society, May, 1984.

Hirschman, Albert, Exit, Voice, and Loyalty, Harvard University Press, 1970.

William A. Gamson, The Strategy of Social Protest, Dorsey, 1975.

James Q. Wilson, Political Organizations, Basic Books, 1973,

Philip Selznick, TVA and the Grass Roots, University of California Press, 1953.

Essay #2: Approximate due date: April 3. Maximum length = four double spaced, typewritten pages.

Answer one of the following questions. The question assumes the core readings plus the special readings attached to it.

1. Evaluate the following argument: "American society, like other modern industrialized societies, has institutions that are heavily interdependent. It also, perhaps more than other similar societies, has a good deal of consensus on basic values. Now, it is possible to take these basic truths, give them a pejorative label such as "military-industrial" and use them in a rhetoric aimed at mobilizing supporters of certain kinds of changes. But this polemical use should not blind us to the fact that these apparent critics have done nothing more than relabel some very ordinary properties of modern industrial states."

Special readings:

Parsons: Coursepack: The Distribution of Power in American Society, 183-203, and Gamson, Stable Unrepresentation in American Society, 15-21.

2. Are American political institutions facing a crisis of legitimacy? If not, what is the meaning of the massive decline in political trust reported in so many surveys? If so, how is this crisis likely to be dealt with and what are its present and future consequences?

Special readings: Reserve in library: Alan Wolfe, The Limits of Legitimacy, pp. 1-10, 247-254, and 288-347.

3. Pick a social movement organization with which you are familiar. Does this organization hold back the militancy of its constituency as Piven and Cloward suggest or does it promote militancy as resource mobilizations theorists suggest? What implications does your case have for this theoretical controversy? What implications does your analysis have for changing the social movement organization?

Special reading:

Gamson and Schmeidler: Coursepack: Organizing the Poor" and Gamson, Strategy of Social Protest, Ch. 7 "Combat Readiness," pp. 89-108.

4. Pick a social movement organization with which you are familiar. Assume you were advising this organization on the best ways to increase the commitment and efforts of its supporters. To what extent does the group have a free rider problem? What would you advise them on how to increase commitment and why?

Special reading:

Reserve in library: James Q. Wilson, Political Organizations Ch. 2-5, 9 and 14 (pp. 19-90, 171-89, and 281-301.)

5. Micromobilization

5.1 Recruiting and the role of primary groups.

Core reading: none

5.2 Rebellion against unjust authority.

Core reading: Bookstore: Gamson, Fireman, and Rytina, Encounters with Unjust Authority, whole book.

Other relevant reading:

Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation, Bobbs-Merrill, 1970.

Milgram, Stanley, Obedience to Authority, Harper & Row, 1974.

Moore, Barrington, Injustice, Sharpe, 1978.

6. Political consciousness and symbolism

6.1 Symbolism in politics.

Core reading: Coursepack: Edelman, Politics as Symbolic Action, 1-11, 65-83.

6.2 Media frames.

Course reading: Coursepack: Gamson, What's News, "Media Frames" 81-89.

Other relevant reading:

Todd Gitlin, The Whole World Is Watching, University of California Press, 1980.

Harvey Molotch, "Movements and Media", in Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy (eds), The Dynamics of Social Movements, Winthrop, 1979.

Robert Lane, Political Ideology, The Free Press, 1962.

Richard Hamilton, Restraining Myths, Wiley, 1975.

7. World Conflicts.

7.1 Tension and War

Core reading: Coursepack: Angell, "The Growth of Transnational Participation" pp. 226-45.

7.2 Preventing World War III:

Core reading: none

Other relevant reading:

Louis Kriesberg, Social Processes in International Relation, Wiley, 1968.

Marc Pilisuk, International Conflict and Social Policy, Prentice-Hall, 1972.

Morton A. Kaplan, System and Process in International Politics, Wiley, 1957.

Kenneth Boulding, Conflict and Defense, Harper, 1962.

Granville Clark and Louis B. Sohn, World Peace through World Law, Harvard University Press, 1962.

Essay #3: Approximate due date: May 1. Maximum length = four double spaced, typewritten pages. Answer one of the following questions which assume the core readings plus the special readings attached:

1. There has been much talk in recent years of "consciousness-raising groups" and of "false consciousness." It is possible to use such concepts rigorously? Isn't one inevitably claiming a special status for one's own particular consciousness? If it is possible to use such concepts in some form, what is it that makes a particular encounter "consciousness-raising?"

Special reading: Coursepack: Richard Hamilton, Restraining Myths, pp. 9-30 and 261-85.

2. What are the major organizing frames and condensing symbols used in American politics to deal with war, peace, and national security? To what extent does this symbolism either increase or decrease the probability of World War III? If you were the advisor in charge of symbolism for a future President intent on preventing WW III, what changes in symbolism would you advise and why?

Special reading: Coursepack: Harvard Nuclear Study Group, Living with Nuclear Weapons, pp. 3-19 and 232-255.

Indiana University
S612 Seminar in Political Sociology
D. Knoke
Fall 1982   M 1-3:00 p.m.   BH 018

This seminar is an advanced introduction to basic concepts, theories, and empirical research in political sociology, with an emphasis upon contemporary American society. It is organized around a set of readings covering five topics, as indicated in the attached syllabus. Students are expected to read the assigned items before each session.

The course evaluation will be based on three components: (1) a take-home exam covering the first half of the material; (2) a take-home exam covering the second half of the material; (3) a 15-page paper on a topic of the student's own choosing. Each exam will be a quarter of the course grade and the paper will be half the course grade.

I hope to offer a second-term seminar in political sociology that will build on the content of S612, so in most instances the paper will be structured as a research proposal involving a review of literature, statement of hypotheses, and design of a research project that could actually be carried out the following term, whether or not the student intends to continue on with the research seminar. Because political sociology is a new subject for most students taking S612, I expect to work on an individual basis with each student in selecting the paper topic and organizing the research proposal. I hope that most projects will evolve as a genuinely collaborative enterprise of high professional quality.

Most of the assigned readings are journal articles, with occasional book chapters. These items can be found in the bound volumes on the shelves of the Sutherland Library (ISR), the Political Science Library (Woodburn) or the Main Library (including undergraduate library). Two copies have also been placed on reserve in the undergraduate section.

Three books have also been ordered through the IU Bookstore:

Domhoff, G. William. 1978. *The Powers that Be.*
Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution.*
Wright, Erik Olin. 1978. *Class, Crisis and the State.*

S612 Seminar in Political Sociology
D. Knoke
Fall 1982   M 1-3:00 p.m.   BH 018

SYLLABUS

I. BASIC CONCEPTS AND PRINCIPLES: The microanalytic foundations of decision making and collective action

August 30, September 6, 13

Olson, Mancur. 1965. The Logic of Collective Action. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Marwell, Gerald and Ruth E. Ames. 1979. "Experiments on the provision of public goods. I. Resources, interest, group size, and the free rider problem." American Journal of Sociology 84: 1335-1360.

Waldman, Sidney R. 1972. "Exchange theory and political analysis." Sociological Inquiry 42: 101-128.

Easton, David. 1972. "Some limits of exchange theory in politics." Sociological Inquiry 42: 129-148.

Waldman, Sidney R. 1972. "Response to Easton." Sociological Inquiry 42: 149-156.

Fiorina, Morris. 1975. "Formal models in political science." American Journal of Political Science 19: 132-159.

Moe, Terry M. 1979. "On the scientific status of rational models." American Journal of Political Science 23: 214-43.

Coleman, James S. 1975. "Social structure and theory of action." Pp. 76-93 in P.M. Blau (ed.) Approaches to the Study of Social Structure. New York: Free Press.

Coleman, James S. 1966. "Foundations for a theory of collective decisions." American Journal of Sociology 71: 615-27.

Coleman, James S. 1977. "Notes on the study of power." Pp. 183-198 in Roland Liebert and Allen W. Imershein (eds.) Power, Prestige, and Community Research. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Marsden, Peter V. and Edward O. Laumann. 1977. "Collective action in a community elite: Exchange, influence resources and issue resolution." Pp. 199-250 in Roland Liebert and Allen W. Imershein (eds.) Power, Paradigms, and Community Research. Beverly Hills: Sage.

II. PROTESTS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: Disorderly politics and the mobilization of challenging groups

September 20, 27, October 4, 11

Korpi, Walter. 1974. "Conflict, power, and relative deprivation." American Political Science Review 68: 1569-1578.

Feierabend, Ivo K., Rosalind L. Feierabend, and Betty A. Nesvold. 1970. "Social change and political violence: Cross-national patterns." Pp. 632-681 in Hugh D. Graham and Ted R. Gurr (eds.), The History of Violence in America. New York: Praeger.

Von Eschen, Donald, Jerome Kirk, and Maurice Pinard. 1971. "The organizational substructure of disorderly politics." Social Forces 49: 529-44.

Tilly, Charles. 1978. From Mobilization to Revolution. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory." American Journal of Sociology 82: 1212-1241.

Gamson, William A. 1975. The Strategy of Social Protest. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press.

Goldstone, Jack A. 1980. "The weakness of organization: A new look at Gamson's *The Strategy of Social Protest*." American Journal of Sociology 85: 1017-1042.

Gamson, William A. 1980. "Understanding the careers of challenging groups: A commentary on Goldstone." American Journal of Sociology 85: 1043-1060.

Foley, John W. and Homer R. Steedly, Jr. 1980. "Comment." and Jack A. Goldstone. 1980. "Reply." American Journal of Sociology 85: 1426-1432.

Jenkins, J. Craig and Charles Perrow. 1977. "Insurgency of the powerless: Farm worker movements (1946-1972)." American Sociological Review 42: 249-68.

Useem, Bert. 1980. "Solidarity model, breakdown model, and the Boston anti-busing movement." American Sociological Review 45: 357-369.

III. INTEREST GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS: The aggregation and representation of legitimated group interests

October 18, 25

*****FIRST EXAM Take home October 11, due October 15*****

McNeil, Kenneth. 1978. "Understanding organizational power: Building on the Weberian legacy." Administrative Science Quarterly 23: 65-90.

Salisbury, Robert. 1969. "An exchange theory of interest groups." Midwest Jouurnal of Political Science 13: 1-32.

Coleman, James S. 1973b. "Loss of power." American Sociological Review 38: 1-17.

Moe, Terry M. 1980. The Organization of Interests: Incentives and the Internal Dynamics of Political Interest Groups. Chapters 1-5. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Knoke, David. 1981. "Commitment and detachment in voluntary associations." American Sociological Review 46: 141-158.

Galaskiewicz, Joseph. 1979. "The structure of community interorganizational networks." Social Forces 57: 1346-1364.

Knoke, David and James R. Wood. 1981. Organized for Action: Commitment in Voluntary Associations. Chapters 6-9. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

IV. ELITES AND POWER NETWORKS: Macroanalytic perspectives on sociopolitical structrues and processes

November 1, 8, 15, 22, 29

*****OUTLINE OF PAPER due November 8*****

Knoke, David. 1981. "Power structures." Pp. 275-332 in Samuel L. Long (ed.) The Handbook of Political Behavior. Vol. 3. New York: Plenum. (Handout in class)

Wright, Erik Olin. 1978. Class, Crisis and the State. London: New Left.

Esping-Anderson, Gosta et al. 1976. "Modes of class struggle and the capitalist state." Kapitalistate 4-5: 186-220.

Therborn, Goran. 1976. "What does the ruling class do when it rules?" Insurgent Sociologist 6: 3-16

Domhoff, G. William. 1979. The Powers That Be: State and Ruling Class in Corporate America. New York: Random.

Whitt, J. Allen. 1979. "Toward a class dialectical model of power: An empirical assessment of three competing models of political power." American Sociological Review 44: 81-100.

Hicks, Alexander, Roger Friedland, and Edwin Johnson. 1978. "Class power and state policy." American Sociological Review 43: 302-315.

Useem, Michael. 1979. "The social organization of the American business elite and participation of corporate directors in the governance of American institutions." American Sociological Review 44: 553-72.

Useem, Michael. 1982. "Classwide rationality in the politics of managers and directors of larger corporations in the United States and Great Britain." Administration Science Quarterly 27: 199-226.

Laumann, Edward O. et al. 1977. "Community influence structures: Replication and extension of a network approach." American Journal of Sociology 83: 594-631.

Burt, Ronald S. 1977. "Power in a social topology." Pp. 251-334 in R.J. Liebert and A.W. Imersheim (eds.) Power, Paradigms, and Community Research. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Moore, Gwen. 1979. "The structure of a national elite network." American Sociological Review 44: 673-91.

Laumann, Edward O. and Peter V. Marsden. 1979. "The analysis of oppositional structures in political elites: Identifying collective actors." American Sociological Review 44: 713-732.

V. INFLUENCING OUTCOMES: The allocation, distribution, and redistribution of values in collective action systems

December 6, 13

*****FINAL DRAFT OF PAPER due December 10*****
*****SECOND EXAM Take home December 13, due December 17*****

Walker, Jack. 1977. "Setting the agenda in the U.S. Senate: A theory of problem selection." British Journal of Political Science 7: 423-46.

Bacheller, John M. 1977. "Lobbyists and the legislature process: The impact of environmental constraints." American Political Science Review 71: 252-63.

Aberbach, Joel D. and Bert A. Rockman. 1978. "Bureaucrats and clientele groups: A view from Capital Hill." American Journal of Political Science 22: 818-832.

Cameron, David R. 1978. "The expansion of the public economy: A comparative analysis." American Political Science Review 72: 1243-1261.

Padgett, John F. 1981. "Hierarchy and ecological control in federal budgetary decision making." American Journal of Sociology 87: 75-129.

Burstein, Paul and William Freudenburg. 1978. "Changing public policy: The impact of public opinion, antiwar demonstrations, and war costs

on Senate voting on Vietnam war motives." American Journal of Sociology 84: 99-122.

Burstein, Paul and Margo W. MacLeod. 1980. "Prohibiting emmployment discrimination: Ideas and politics in the Congressional debate over Equal Opportunity legislation." American Journal of Sociology 86: 512-533.

Knoke, David and Edward O. Laumann. 1982. "The social organization of national policy domains." Forthcoming in Nan Lin and Peter V. Marsden (eds.) Social Structure and Networks. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Spring Semester 1978-79
Thursdays, 1-3 p.m.
William James 374

Theda Skocpol
Associate Professor of Sociology
William James 680
495-3824 or 868-9385

Sociology 106. Sociology of Protest Movements

Why, how, and when do movements that demand change emerge? Under what conditions can such movements achieve -- or partially achieve -- their declared goals? What obstacles stand in the way of success, causing movements quite often to fail altogether? This course will explore some of the many (often contradictory) theories that have been developed by contemporary social scientists to characterize, explain, and guide research on movements for change. The focus will be especially upon movements by and for excluded or relatively less powerful groups in society. Most of the actual movements dicusssed in the readings have occurred in U.S. history since the 1930s. Hence we shall also gain a certain familiarity with debates about the limits and possibilities for protest and change afforded by the contemporary political system of the United States.

Sociology 106 is a "proseminar" intended primarily for undergraduates, especially juniors and seniors. It is perhaps particularly well suited for individuals who are considering doing senior theses on topics related to the themes of the course.. The course may also make sense for students who have already taken introductory courses in the social sciences and now wish to survey an interesting topical literature in great depth. Enrollment will be limited to 12 students.

Requirements

The course will be conducted through structured class discussion. Each member is required to do the assigned reading week by week. For at least 10 out of the 12 meetings from February 8 to May 3, each student must hand in at the beginning of class a 1-2 page, single-spaced, typewritten abstract containing: (a) a summary of the central points in that week's reading; (b) an indication of his or her opinions on the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments in the readings; and (c) one or two questions that should be discussed by the class as a whole. The purpose of these weekly abstracts are, first, to allow Theda to judge the quality of each person's preparation despite variations in quantity and styles of class participation and, second, to ensure that all of us come prepared for a good group discussion each week.

Sociology 106.

There will be no exams in Sociology 106. Instead, each student must submit two 10-15 page (doublespaced, typewritten) papers, according to one of two alternative plans:

Plan One. Two analytic essays, or "thought pieces" on:
- (a) either an assessment of Olson, Logic of Collective Action:
  - or a comparison of Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior and Schwartz, Radical Protest and Social Structure;

and (b) an assessment of Piven and Cloward, Poor People's Movements.

Plan Two.
- (a) one of the above analytic essays, plus
- (b) either a discussion of a theoretical issue in the course using evidence about a particular protest movement;
  - or a well-developed plan for research on a protest movement (using available secondary works; identifying key issues; indicating evidence to be collected, and how).

Papers must be handed in on time in Sociology 106. The first paper is due at William James 680 by no later than 5 p.m. on Monday, April 9; the second paper is due at the same place by no later than 5 p.m. on Tuesday, May 15.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST

Week 1 (February 1) Introduction to the Course

I. AN OLD THEORY AND SOME EVIDENCE

Week 2 (February 8)

William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society

Week 3 (February 15)

Donald Von Eschen, Jerome Kirk, and Maurice Pinard, "The Organizational Substructure of Disorderly Politics" Social Forces 49(4) (June 1971): 529-44.

Maurice Jackson, et al., "The Failure of an Incipient Social Movement" The Pacific Sociological Review 3(1) (Spring 1960): 35-40.

Jo Freeman, "The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement" American Journal of Sociology 78(4) (January 1973): 792-811.

II. THE GROUP BASES OF POLITICAL ACTION

Week 4 (February 22)

Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*

Week 5 (March 1)

Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution,* chapter 1-5, 8.

III. THEORIES OF SOCIETY AND NONINSTITUTIONAL PROTEST

Week 6 (March 8)

Neil Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior,* chapters 1-5, 9-11.

Week 7 (March 15)

Michael Schwartz, *Radical Protest and Social Structure: The Southern Farmers' Alliance and Cotton Tenancy, 1880-1890*.

IV. U.S. POLITICS AND THE STRATEGIES OF CHALLENGERS

Week 8 (March 22)

William Gamson, *The Strategy of Social Protest*.

Week 9 (April 5)

Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed and How They Fail*.

Week 10 (April 12)

David J. Garrow, *Protest at Selma: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Voting Rights Act of 1965*.

Michael Lipsky, "Rent Strikes: Poor Man's Weapon, " *Transaction* 6 (Febraury 1969): 10-15. (See also, for the official version of this argument, written in more obscure and academic language: Lipsky, "Protest as a Political Resource," *The American Political Science* Review 62(4)(December 1968): 1144-58).

Week 11 (April 19)

J. Craig Jenkins and Charles Perrow, "Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker Movements (1946-1972)," American Sociological Review 42(2) (April 1977): 249-68.

J. Craig Jenkins, "Farm Workers and the Powers: Insurgency and Political Conflict (1946-1972)," parts to be announced.

V. GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZING

Week 12 (April 26)

Saul D. Alinsky, Reveille for Radicals, part II.

John H. Mollenkopf, "On the Causes and Consequences of Neighborhood Political Mobilization".

Week 13 (May 3)

Discussion of (all or parts of) a Senior Thesis by Adair Damann, Stephanie Van Dyke, Susan Eaton, Sarah Royce, and Karen Scharff.

Fall Term, 1983
Meetings: Mon., Wed., Fri.
1:50-2:40 9-133

David Stark
Office: 328 Soc.-Psych. Bldg.
684-2625
Office hours: Mon. 10-12

Duke University

Sociology 167

THE USE AND ABUSE OF POWER

Requirements: The course will be organized around a seminar format. Informed participation in the class discussions will count as an important part of the final grade. Two short papers (2-5 pp.) based on the required readings will be assigned. A short mid-term exam is scheduled for Oct. 12. There will be no final exam. A final term paper (15-20 pp.) is required. Paper topics must be approved prior to October 26.

Week of: *Required readings

Aug. 31 *Introduction*

I. The State and Society

Sept. 5 A. *The Ruling Elite Model*

*C. Wright Mills, "The Power Elite," Chapter 12 of *The Power Elite*, pp. 269-298.

*Michael Useem, "The Social Organization of the American Business Elite and Participation of Corporation Directors in the Governance of American Institutions," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 44 no. 4 (Aug. 1979) pp. 553-572.

*Robert Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," in G. William Domhoff & Hoyt Ballard (eds.) *C. Wright Mills and the Power Elite*, pp. 25-37.

Maurice Zeitlin, "Corporate Ownership and Control: The Large Corporation and the Capitalist Class," in Giddens & Held (eds.) *Classes, Power, and Conflict*, pp. 196-217.

Sept. 12 B. *The Pluralist Paradigm*

*Robert Dahl, "Who Governs," in Willis Hawley and Frederick Wirt (eds.) *The Search for Community Power*, pp. 87-107.

*David Truman, "Interest Groups and the Nature of the State," in Maurice Zeitlin (ed.) *American Society, Inc.*, pp. 317-337.

*Peter Pachrach and Morton Baratz," Two Faces of Power," in Hawley and Wirt, pp. 167-177.

Goran Therborn, "What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?: Some Reflections on Different Approaches to the Study of Power in Society," in Giddens and Held (eds.) *Classes, Power & Conflict*, pp. 224-248.

Sept. 19 C. *The Structuralist Perspective*

*James O'Connor, *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*, pp. 1-70, 97-169.

Claus Offe and Volker Ronge, "Theses on the Theory of the State," in Giddens and Held (eds.), pp. 249-256.

Sept. 26 D. *Towards a Polity-Centered Political Sociology*

*Fred Block, "The Ruling Class Does Not Rule," *Socialist Revolution*, #33, vol. 7 no. 3 (May-June 1979), pp. 6-28.

*Theda Skocpol, "Political Response to Capitalist Crisis: Neo-Marxist Theories of the State and the Case of the New Deal," *Politics & Society* vol. 10 no. 2 (1980), pp. 155-201.

Oct. 3 D. *Politics and Public Policy*

*Robert Alford, *Health Care Politics*.

Oct. 10 E. *The State of the Theory of the State: Summing Up the Debate*

*Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In," Manuscript, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago.

Alvin Gouldner, "State and Class in Marxism," Chapter 11 of *The Two Marxisms*, pp. 324-352.

Oct. 12 Mid-term exam

Oct. 14 Discussion of the mid-term and review of themes of the first part of the course.

II. Knowledge and Power

Oct. 19 A. *A New Knowledge Class*?

*Daniel Bell, "Introduction," *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*, pp. 1-45.

*Barbara and John Ehrenreich, "The Professional-Managerial Class," in Pat Walker, (ed.) *Between Labor and Capital*.

Alvin Gouldner, *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class*.

Oct. 24 B. *The Politics of Classification*

*Pierre Bourdieu and Luc Boltanski, "Formal Qualifications and Occupational Hierarchies," in Edmund Sage (ed.) *Reorganizing Education*, pp. 61-69.

*David Karen, "Choosing the Best and the Brightest: The Admissions Process at Harvard" Manuscript, Department of Sociology, Harvard.

Oct. 25 Film, *The Working Class Goes to Heaven*, (Freewater, Bryan Center, 7 and 9:30 pm).

Oct. 31 C. *Positions and Dispositions: From the Sovereign State to Technologies of Power*

*Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 3-31, 39-49, 73-103, 130-131, 170-228, 293-308.

*Pierre Bourdieu, "Men and Machines," in Karin Knorr-Cetina and Aaron Cicourel (eds.) *Advances in Social Theory and Methodology*, pp. 304-315.

Alan Sheridan, *Michel Foucault: The Will to Truth*, pp. 135-163.

Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault : Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, pp. 143-167.

III. Positions and Oppositions

Nov. 7 A. *The Protest Movement as an Hypothesis Testing Process*

*Michael Schwartz, *Radical Protest and Social Structure*, Chapter 9, pp. 135-151.

*Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements*, pp. 1-37, 96-175, 264-275.

*Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, *The Politics of Turmoil*, pp. 267-284.

Nov. 14 B. *Technologies of Representation: The Protest Movement and the Media*

*Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*.

Nov. 28 C. *Personal Politics: Feminism and the Male Revolt*

*Barbara Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men*.

Charles Derber, *The Pursuit of Attention*.

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Dec. 5 D. The New Right and New Social Technologies of Mobilization

*Richard Viguerie, The New Right-We're Ready to Lead

*Linda Gordon and Allen Hunter, "Sex, Family, and the New Right: Anti-Feminism as a Political Force" Radical America (Winter 1977-78), pp. 9-25.

McGill University

Department of Sociology

Winter 1984

Sociology 166-415B
Society and Politics of Germany

Time: Tuesday & Thursday
12:00 - 1:30
Place: L809

Professor Richard F. Hamilton
Office: 725C Leacock
Telephone: 392-5206
Office Hours: Tuesday: 10:30-11:30
Thursday: 1:30-2:30
Or By Appointment

Books for the Course

Alan Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*

Richard F. Hamilton, *Who Voted for Hitler*? (abbrieviated as WVH in the following)

David Schoenbaum, *Hitler's Social Revolution*

Gordon Smith, *Democracy in Western Germany*

Optional: Kendall L. Baker, et al., *Germany Transformed*

All other works will be made available in class. They will also be available from the Redpath Reserve Library.

Course Requirements

You are expected to do the readings, come to class, and think about the course materials. There will be a mid-term examination on March 3rd, a term paper, and a final examination. These will count for 25%, 25% and 50% respectively, of your final grade for the course. The requirements for the term paper are discussed on pages 5 ff. The term paper will be due on March 29th at class time. A preliminary statement is due on January 31st. The paper should be 15 to 25 pages in length, typed, double-spaced, normal one inch margins.

WEEK/DATE COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

Jan 5 I. INTRODUCTION: THEORIES OF FASCISM

Readings:

Bullock, Chapter 2, (plus last page of chapter 1).
Hamilton, WVH, Appendix A.
Hamilton, "On the Relationship of Business and Government."*

1. II. THE FALL OF THE WEIMAR REGIME

Jan 10 The Kaiserreich: Geography

Jan 12 The Weimar Republic

Readings

Bullock, Chapter 3-4
Hamilton, "A Note on Positional Analyses"
Hamilton, "Hermann Goering's First Public Address"

2. Jan 17 The Liberal Opportunity

Jan 19 The Failure of the Liberals

Readings

Hamilton, WVH, Chapters 1-4
Hamilton, "Cultural Explanations..."
Chanady, "The Dissolution of..."

* All articles for weeks 1-2 are on Redpath Reserve. They are listed under Richard Hamilton, GERMANY ARTICLES I.

3. Jan 24 The Conservatives

Jan 26 Big Business and Hitler

Readings

Hamilton, WVH, Chapters 5, 6, 9, 10
Feldman, "The Social and Economic..."
Turner, "Big Business..."**

4. Jan 31 The Parties of the Left

TERM PAPER STATEMENT DUE JANUARY 31ST

Feb 2 The NSDAP's Electoral Breakthrough

Readings

Hamilton, WVH, Chapter 11-12
Faris, "Take Off Point..."
Gates, "German Socialism..."

** All articles for weeks 3-4 are on Redpath Reserve. They are listed under Richard Hamilton, GERMANY ARTICLES: II.

5. Feb 7 Hindenburg Names a Chancellor

Feb 9 Theories of Class: Summary and Comment

Readings

Hamilton, WVH, Chapter 13-14
Bullock, Chapter 5

6. III. THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST PERIOD

Feb 14 "Fascism" - The Comparative Perspective

MID-TERM EXAMINATION - FEBRUARY 16TH

Readings

Schoenbaum, Chapters 1-4

7. Feb 21 The Consolidation of Power: 1933-1939

Readings

Schoenbaum, Chapters 5-9

STUDY BREAK - FEBRUARY 23RD

8. Feb 28 Big Business and Hitler

Mar 1 The War Machine

Readings
Bullock, chapter 12-14
Stokes Article***

*** All articles for this and the remaining weeks of the course are on Redpath Reserve under Richard Hamilton, GERMANY ARTICLES: III.

9. Mar 6 The Holocaust

IV. THE BONN REPUBLIC

Mar 8 From Ground Zero - The Economy

		Readings Smith, Chapter 1-3
10. Mar 13		From Ground Zero - The Polity
Mar 15		The Parties: (CDU-FDP-SPD)
		Readings
		Smith, Chapters 4, 5 Baker, Chapters 2, 3
11. Mar 20		The Class Structure
Mar 22		Educational Institutions
		Readings
		Baker, Chapters 6, 7 Hamilton, "The Income Question" "German Youth"
12. Mar 27		Social Institutions
Mar 29		Religion

TERM PAPER DUE - MARCH 29TH

13. Apr 3 Apr 5	V.	THE FUTURE OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC
		Readings
		Baker, chapters 11, 12 Hamilton, "The National Democrats" The Hitler Boom"

Research Papers

A research paper is one that brings evidence to bear on some focused, researchable question. To say that the problem is focused means that it has a relatively narrow aim. A brief research paper cannot hope to cover a topic such as "the political, social and economic developments of Spain from 1900 to 1930". That would involve thousands of comments and observations, none of which could be adequately researched or discussed in the time and space allowed. To say that the topic should be focused or narrow does not mean that it has to be insignificant. Topics should be both narrowly-focused _and_ significant.

The second requirement of a research paper is that the topic be researchable. This means it should be evident at the outset that enough evidence is available to allow some reasonable contribution on the subject. It means too that one must investigate the available resources _before_ making the decision to proceed.

The paper should begin and end with your _thinking_ on a problem. The body of the paper should consist of your presentation of evidence bearing on that problem. _Papers will be assessed for the quality of the thought and for the adequacy of the presentation of evidence._ It cannot be stressed too much that the major concern, the beginning point for your work, should be _your original thinking_ on a _researchable_ problem.

Extensive quotation and/or paraphrasing, since it involves nothing more than copying, since it does not involve your own thought, is to be avoided. See pp. 4-5 for additional comment. Extensive description of the contents of tables is to be avoided. Summarize table findings simply and economically and proceed to the _lessons_ learned. Papers _must_ be proof-read and corrected.

Despite this explicit statement, the following misspellings appeared in one 13 page paper:

percipitated; maintaines; rightests; pleague; Warneck (a misspelled name); formations (should be formulations); Franz (should be Fritz); sympathesizers; truely; gotton; Friz (i.e. Fritz); Rhinelan (for Rhineland); Theilin (for Thielen, twice misspelled; once spelled correctly); regination (i.e. resignation); Soviety; leftest; intellectueal; extreeme; importandce; emphasises; Nazies; honar; monoths (i.e. months); herors (heroes); appearantly; fourty; attidudinal; iclude; educaton; compartive; Negle (a misspelled name); exgremeism.

When in doubt, use the dictionary. It is a matter of pride in one's own work.

Your paper should be written in clear, concise and straight-forward English or French. The more grotesque literary accomplishments of the age (see Almond and Verba, Heinz Eulau, Talcott Parsons, or Nicos Poulantzas) should not be imitated. Unless it is clear that some recognizable content is present, neo-Hegelian formulations should also be avoided.

A brief statement of your topic - a paragraph or two - should be submitted at class time on Tuesday February 8th. This should also contain some indication of the resources available on the topic (e.g. names of five key books on the subject, articles, etc.). The paper itself is due on March 29th at class time. Points will be taken off for late papers.

Useful beginning sources:

Erich Eyck,
History of the Weimar Republic.
2 Vols. The Best History of Weimar.

Arthur Rosenberg,
History of the Weimar Republic.
2 Vols., Stops at 1930.

Gordon Graig,
Gemany: 1866-1945.
Best recent history.

If you use the work of David Child, something that is *not* recommended, be sure to check *all* claims against other sources. The same holds for the work of David Abraham. (See Am. Hist. Rev., October 1983, 1143ff.)

All important conclusions, findings, facts, etc. must be footnoted giving complete and accurate reference(s). Footnoting procedure should follow a standard accepted format. When citing a book or article, specific page references are required. A reference to (Jones: 1970) is inadequate. It should read: (Jones: 1970, p. 31). Wherever possible, quote from the original source. This should be done both for prose passages and for statistical evidence.

Sometimes terms come to be overused and, in the process, are used thoughtlessly, without clear and precise meaning. They become cliches. To guard against this possibility, if any of the following words are used, clear and unambiguous definitions are required:

manipulation,
exploitaton, and
alienation.

A related difficulty, another thoughtless usage, involves the problem of reification. This refers to the treatment of an abstraction as having a substantial existence. To guard against this difficulty, the following expressions should be precisely defined:

The bourgeoisie	The State
The petty bourgeoisie	The system
The prolatariat (or the workers)	The Americans (or Russians, French, etc.)
The people	

If you write that: "The bourgeoisie acted..." (or defended, or aimed to, or any other verb suggesting a joint or collective behavior), that statement requires specification. What portion of the collectivity behaved as indicated? How did it happen that such a large group was so organized and so well coordinated? In all of the above instances, some frequency distribution is likely (that is, some people did and some did not do the thing claimed). Demand numbers of any sources making such claims (how many did? How many didn't?). If no number is given, demand sources (how would the author know the behavior of some hundreds or thousands of persons?). If no sources are given, say so, indicating at the same time that the claim, as it stands, is an unsupported hypothesis.

The expressions "national interest" and "class interest" are also subject to reification. In these instances (unlike for example, "the people"), one is not dealing with an empirical entity. One is actually dealing with a definition of interests. And that means one is dealing with someone's (or some individuals') definition. This again leads to questions of frequency---how many saw things that way? Was there consensus? If so, how was it achieved?

Remember, critical thinking is called for. Do not accept problematic formulations. Ask if they are plausible or not. If they are doubtful at the outset, say so, and explain your reasons for skepticism.

The following appeared in a paper submitted in fulfillment of course requirements.

Socialization is the process by which someone learns the ways of a given society or social group so that he can function within it. Socialization includes both learning and internalizing of appropriate patterns, values and feelings. Socialization of the child has a broader application - the child ultimately becomes an adult human being who has learnt the ways of the ongoing society.

The society into which the child is born, with its common expectations, ways of doing things, standards of right and wrong, exists before the child enters it. Socialization begins with the assumption of this ongoing-pre-existing society. Socialization is not strictly a one way process; the entrance of a new member into a family changes the group, it becomes a new group with new relationships and new organization.

The following sentences appear in Frederick Elkin, THE CHILD AND SOCIETY: THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION. (New York: Random House, 1960).

"We may define socialization as the process by which someone learns the ways of a given society or social group so that he can function within it. Socialization includes both the learning and internalizing of appropriate patterns, values, and feelings...Socialization of the child has a broader application---the child ultimately becomes an adult human being who has learned the ways of the ongoing society." p. 4. "The society into which the child is born, with its common expectations, ways of doing things, standards of right and wrong, and current trends, is the result of a unique historical evolution and exists before the child enters it. Socialization begins with the assumption of this ongoing pre-existing society." p.4. "Socialization is not strictly a one-way process. The entrance of a new member into a family, or into any unit, changes the group. It is not just the old group with one added person. it is a new group with new relationships and a new organization." p.5.

Lest there be any doubt about it, this kind of performance is called plagiarism. It is completely unacceptable. Any such performance will received a zero for the course (not just for the paper). There will be no opportunity to "make it up". The assumption is that anyone wishing to do this kind of work should also be willing to accept the consequences.

Here we have a variation on the above procedure. The plagiarized passages in this case were footnoted. There were no quotation marks to indicate that the words were those of another author.

From the paper:	From the original source:
Many analysts believe that the utilization pressures placed on medical resources are also, in part, a consequence of the bureaucratization of social institutions, and associated changes in ways of living. It is contended that as opportunities for close personal contacts diminish, and as populations become increasingly geographically mobile, problems that have been previously handled in familial, social and religious contexts are transferred to formal sustaining professionals like doctors, lawyers, social workers etc. (6)	"...many analysts who believe that the utilization pressures placed on medical resources are also, in part, a consequence of the bureaucratization of societal institutions and associated changes in ways of living. It is contended that as opportunities for close personal contacts diminish, and as populations become increasingly geographically mobile, problems that have been previously handled in familial, social, and religious contexts are transferred to formal sustaining professionals (doctors lawyers, social workers, and the like)."
Another plagiarized paragraph follows, the last sentence of which reads: The more general and central sociological problems involve the whole range of consequences of change from social relationships based on primary contact to one more dependent on secondary or bureaucratic organization. (7)	"The more general and central sociological problem---which has been of vital concern to social theorists for generations ---involves the whole range of consequences of change from social relationships based on primary contacts to ones more dependent on secondary (or bureaucratic) organization."

Footnote 6 refers to Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock*, (New York, 1970), pp. 386-387. The reference is rather pointless since the quotation comes from David Mechanic, *Medical Sociology*, (New York, 1965) p. 166. Footnote 7 refers to Mechanic giving the appropriate page.

Lest there be any doubt about this variation, it too is plagiarism. A failure to put in the quotation marks so as to indicate that they are someone else's words leaves the reader to assume that they are the author's own. The argument that the omission is an oversight carries no weight. If it were an oversight in this case, one would have paragraph after paragraph of quotations, an accomplishment which hardly qualifies as university-level work. In either case the grade would be zero.

I. Relevant Journals - Historical Studies

American Historical Review	E171 A57
Archiv fuer Sozialgeschichte (at Concordia)	
Australian Journal of Politics and History	JA26 A85X
Canadian Journal of History	D1 C27
Central European History	D1 C4
Comparative Studies in Society and History	H1 C73
Economic History Review	
Geschichte und Gesellschaft	
Historische Zeitschrift	D1 H6
International Review of Social History	HN1 I 53
Journal of American History (formerly Mississippi Valley Historical Review)	E171 J87
Journal of Central European Affairs	D1 J 57
Journal of Contemporary History	D410 J66
Journal of Interdisciplinary History	D1 J6X
Journal of Modern History	D1 J6
Militaergeschichtliche Mitteilungen	DD1 M55X
Politische Studien (Concordia's holdings begin with Volume 8	
Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine	D1 R4X
Revue historique	
Vierteljahrshefte fuer Zeitgeschichte	D410 V5
West European Studies	
Zeitschrift fuer Militaergeschichte (East Berlin publication)	U3 Z3
Zeitschrift fuer Geschichtswissenschaft (DDR publication)	D1 Z372
Zeitschrift fuer Politik	JA14 Z4

II. Relevant Journals - Contemporary Politics

American Journal of Political Science	JAI M5
American Journal of Sociology	HM1 A75
American Political Science Review	JA1 A6
American Politics Quarterly	JK1 A48
American Sociological Review	HM1 A75
British Journal of Political Science	JA8 B7
British Journal of Sociology	HM1 B75
Canadian Journal of Political Science	JA4 C16
Canadian Journal of Sociology	HM1 C35X
Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology	GN1 C32
Comparative Politics	JA1 C7
Comparative Political Studies	JA3 C65
Demography	
Eugenics Quarterly	
European Journal of Political Research	JA26 E97X
European Journal of Sociology	HM1 A1A7
European Studies Review	
Gallup Opinion Index	HM261 A1G34
Government and Opposition	JA8 G6
Harvard Educational Review	L11 H3
Journalism Quarterly	PN 4700 J7
Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion	BL1 J6
Journal of Comparative Family Studies	
Journal of Marriage and the Family	HQ1 J48
Journal of Politics	JA1 J6
Journal of Political and Military Sociology	HM1 J22
Political Science Quarterly	H1 P6
Political Studies	JA1 P63
Population (French)	
Population Studies	
Public Opinion	
Public Opinion Quarterly	HM261 A1 P8
Revue francaise de science politique	JA11 R4X
Revue francaise de sociologie	HM3 R42
Social Science Quarterly	H1 S65
Sociological Quarterly	HM1 S69
Sociology	HM1 S63X
Social Forces	HN51 S5
Social Problems	
Sociologie du travail	HD 4807 S6
Western Political Quarterly	JA1 W4

Suggested Term Paper Topics

1. The Versailles Treaty and Germany: Implications.
2. The early NSDAP (to November 1923); origins and support.
3. Left-wing National Socialism: the Strasser question.
4. The party's finances: the business support question.
5. The mass support for the party: who supported the party and why?
6. The party's election themes: what was said? What promised?
7. The failure of the "center" parties: why did they lose?
8. The dismissal of Bruening and the naming of Von Papen.
9. Von Papen's government: what did it do? aims? support?
10. The naming of Hitler as Chancellor: how did it happen? and why?
11. German Rearmament 1933-39.
12. Appeasement: England, France, Canada (?)
13. Hitler and the Army.
14. Why no allied reaction to Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhine land?
15. The decision to go to war: who made the decision? (a big business role?)
16. The Phony War: Explanation.
17. The "final solution": who made the decision? how was it possible?
18. The "de-nazification" programme: reasons for failure.
19. Neo-Nazism: developments in the Bonn republic?
20. The "Economic Miracle" - Postwar Recovery.
21. The Social Democrats Today.
22. The Christian Democrats Today.
23. The "Greens"

The Collapse of the Weimar Regime: Theories of...

1. The Cultural Theory: Essentially the claim of a unique poisonous culture; it has many variants, as many as there are "kinds" of culture. Some focus on "high" culture, some on "low"; some stress the thinkers and philosophers, some the junk novels. Various "characterological" arguments are also best placed under this heading

An older classic in this tradition is the work of Rohan Butler, *The Roots of National Socialism: 1783-1933*, London: Faber & Faber, 1941. Probably the most widely read contemporary rendition of this position is found in William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1960. See especially pp. 97-113.

Two leading scholarly accounts are those by George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich*, New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1964, and Fritz Stern *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the German Ideology*, Garden city: Doubleday-Anchor, 1965.

There are scores of variations on the theme. The cultural argument, although not as popular as it once was, still surfaces with considerable frequency---see, for example, Gordon Smith, *Democracy in Western Germany*, 2nd edition, London: Heinemann, 1982, opening pages plus his references.

2. The Mass Society: The argument of uprooted populations, of the breakdown of communal supports: "mass man" is isolated, anxious, and susceptible to the palliative offerings provided by irresponsible demagogues.

Probably the best known of the works presenting this position is that of Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1958, Chapter 10. The book itself is very important; the difficulties of the mass society position should not detract from the contribution in the other chapters. A second work in this tradition, once a best-seller and frequently cited but now rarely mentioned, is that of Emil Lederer, *The State of the Masses*, New York: W.W. Norton, 1940. A more scholarly rendition of the themes in this tradition with reference to Germany may be found in William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959. For a brief critique of this position, see Richard Hamilton, *Class and Politics in the United States*, New York: Wiley, 1972, pp. 44-49.

3. The Lower Middle Class Reaction: By far the most widely accepted of the explanations. This tradition goes back at least to *The Communist Manifesto* and existed "ready made" for the "analysis" of National Socialism. The *Berliner Tageblatt* was arguing the line already in 1929. It was argued by Theodor Geiger, Germany's leading sociologist, in 1930, by Harold Lasswell, in an influential article in 1933, and by scores of other commentators since. The best summary statement of the position is that by Seymour Martin Lipset in his *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*, Garden City: Anchor Books, 1963, Chapter 5. Some discussion and critique of this position is to be found in Hamilton, *Class and Politics*... pp. 24-34 and also in Hamilton, *Restraining Myths*, Chapters 2 and 3.

4. The Last Stage of Capitalism. Argues that the NSDAP was financed by and was the agent of "monopoly capital". This position is combined with the lower middle class thesis, the capitalists, supposedly, supplying money and direction, the LMC providing the votes. This was the position of the German Communist Party and, for world-wide dissemination, of the Comintern. The older "classics" (now rarely cited) are: R. Palme Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution: A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay*, New York: International Publishers, 1935, and John Strachey, *The Coming Struggle for Power*, New York: Covici-Friede, 1933. A more scholarly work, also rarely cited nowadays, is that of Frederick L. Schuman, *The Nazi Dictatorship: A Study in Social Pathology and the Politics of Fascism*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1935.

This position has faced considerable difficulties of late, these being posed by the researches of Henry A. Turner. At present they appear in a dozen or so articles, but a book-length account will appear shortly. The best starting place is Turner's article "Big Business and the Rise of Hitler," *American Historical Review*, 75 (1969-1970) 56-70. Not too surprisingly, a sizable literature has developed on the question; Dirk Stegemann has responded to Turner; Turner has responded to Stegemann, etc. (for references see *Who Voted for Hitler?*).

This viewpoint is still held, as an article of faith, by East German writers and many persons on the left in West Germany. For English language works taking this position see Albert Szymanski, *The Capitalist State and the Politics of Class*, Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishers, 1978, pp. 280-286, and David Childs, *Germany Since 1918*, London: B.T. Batsfords, 1971.

It should be noted that any author who, in the last decade, asserts this thesis, and, fails to mention Turner findings is either ignorant of the leading contribution on this subject or is intentionally hiding those findings from the reader.

5. Psychohistory: A position that is difficult to summarize in a small space. Argues psychological trauma or damage to entire population cohorts by virtue of being fatherless during the war and by virtue of physical deprivations in wartime. The leading summary account is that of Peter Loewemberg, "The Psychohistorical Origins of the Nazi Youth Cohort". *American Historical Review*, 76 (December 1971) 1457-1502. Some writers in this tradition have focused on the psychology of leading National Socialists, the most important of these being Robert G.L. Waite, *The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler*, New York, 1977 and Rudolf Binion, *Hitler Among the Germans*, New York, 1976. But see also the critique of Waite by Gerhard L. Weinberg, *American Historical Review*, 83 (1978) 753-756, and the critique of Binion by William S. Allen, *Journal of Modern History*, 50 (1978) 383-385. Binion critiques Waite in *The Journal of Psycho-history*, 5(1977), 295-301.

6. The Organizational Hypothesis: Focuses on the role of the NSDAP cadres, tracing their origins to the World War and various postwar events; focuses on the organizational failures of the other parties. Draws on social psychology and interpersonal influence theories.

Contained in Richard Hamilton, *Who Voted for Hitler*? Princeton University Press, 1982. Primarily a critique of position 3, but also deals with position 4, and, here and there, with position 2.

An overview of theories of Nazism has been provided in Pierre Aycoberry, *The Nazi Question: An Essay on the Interpretations of National Socialism, 1922-1975*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981. (The original: *La question nazie*, Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1979. The work should be approached with some caution. One should, in any event, go to the original sources. It is useful for its discussion of French-language source materials.

Political Sociology

The United States as a Socio-Political System

Lecture Schedule

University of Chicago
Political Sociology 350 — Spring 1977
Open to Undergraduates

Tuesday and Thursday 4:00-5:20 p.m.
Social Science, Room 105 — Morris Janowitz

Introduction: Politics and Society

1. Ideology and Politics
2. Conceptual Analysis: Institutional Perspective

Organizational Basis of Politics

3. The Rise of the Welfare State
4. Occupational and Social Basis of Cleavage
5. Pressure Groups in the Political Process
6. Civil-Military Relations and the Garrison State

The Institutionalization of Political Power

7. The Structure of Political Parties
8. Mass Media and Mass Persuasion
9. Legitimate Coercion and the Legal System
10. Elections and the Electoral Process
11. The Legislature as a Social Institution

Protest and Political Change

12. Structure of Radical Politics - Leftist Movements
13. Structure of Radical Politics - Rightist Movements
14. Experiments in Political Participation - I
15. Experiments in Political Participation - II
16. Processes of Community Conflict

Politics and Moral Values

17. The Intellectuals and Politics
18. Toward a Comparative Perspective: Democratic, Authoritarian Totalitarian Regimes

Political Sociology

The United States as a Socio-Political System

Sociology 350 Morris Janowitz

Readings

Background

Ralf Darhrendorf	Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society
– Morris Janowitz	Social Control of the Welfare State
Joseph Schumpeter	Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy

Introduction: Politics and Society

1. Ideology and Politics

Clifford Geertz	"Ideology as a Cultural System," in Apter, Ideology and Discontent, 46-47.
Max Weber	"Politics as a Vocation," in Gerth and Mills, From Max Weber, pp. 77-128.

2. Conceptual Analysis: Institutional Perspective

Morris Janowitz	"The Logic of Political Sociology," in Political Conflict, pp. 5-35.
– Harold D. Lasswell	Politics: Who Gets What, When and How, Chapters 1, 2 and 3

Organizational Basis of Politics

3. The Rise of the Welfare State

Morris Janowitz	Social Control of the Welfare State

4. Occupational and Social Basis of Cleavage

Ralf Dahrendorf	Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Chapters 1, 2 and 3.,
Morris Janowitz	"Social Clevage and Party Affiliation in Germany, Great Britain and the United States," in Political Conflict.

5. Pressure Groups in the Political Process

– Henry W. Ehrman	"Interest Groups" in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences Volume 7, pp. 486-492.

6. Civil-Military Relations and the Garrison State

Harold Lasswell	"The Garrison State," in American Journal of Sociology 46 (1940), pp. 455-468.
C. Wright Mills	The Power Elite
Morris Janowitz	The Professional Solider, Section VII

The Institutionalization of Political Power

7. The Structure of Political Parties

Maurice Duverger	Political Parties, Intro., Chapters 1 and 2.
Harold Gosnell	Machine Politics, Chicago Model, Chapters 1, 2, and 3.
Arthur H. Miller	"Political Issues and Trust in Government: 1964-1970," The American Political Science Review 66 (September 1974): 951-72; see also comment of Jack Citrin.

8. Mass Media and Mass Persuasion

Morris Janowitz	"Mass Communications and the Political Process," in Political Conflict, pp. 36-68.
Jay Blumler and Jack M. McLeod	"Communication and Voter Turnout in Britain," in Timothy Leggatt, editor, Sociological Theory and Survey Research, pp. 207-236.

9. Legitimate Coercion and the Legal System

Philip Selznick	Law, Society, and Industrial Justice, Chapter 1
James D. Wright Linda L. Marston	"The Ownership of the Means of Destruction: Weapons in the United States," Social Problems 23 (October 1975), pp. 93-107.

10. Elections and the Electoral Process

A, Campbell, P. Converse, W. Miller and D. Stokes	Elections and the Political Order, Chapters 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Morris Janowitz	Social Control of the Welfare State, Chapter 6.

Philip Converse	"The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David Apter, ed., Ideology and Discontent, pp. 206-61.

11. Legislative Behavior and Legislative Institutions

Donald Mathews	U. S. Senators and their World (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960).

Protest and Political Change

12. Structure of Radical Politics - Leftist Movements

Nathan Glazer	The Social Basis of American Communism, Intro., Section I, and conclusion
Gabriel A. Almond	The Appeals of Communism, Part IV

13. Structure of Radical Politics - Rightist Movements

Morris Janowitz	"Native Fascism in the 1930's," in Political Conflict, pp. 149-170.
Seymour M. Lipset and Earl Rabb	The Politics of Unreason: Right Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1970 (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), Chapters 1 and 12.

14. Experiments in Political Participation - I

J. David Greenstone and Paul Peterson	Race and Authority in Urban Politics Community Participation and the War on Poverty
Howard W. Hallman	Neighborhood Government in a Metropolitan Setting, Part One: "Theory and Practicality"

15. Experiments in Political Participation - II

Readings to be assigned

16. Processes of Community Conflict

J. S. Coleman	Community Conflict, Chapter 1
Gerald D. Suttles	"Changing Priorities for the Urban Heartland" unpublished paper

Politics and Moral Values

17. The Intellectuals and Politics

E. Shils	The Intellectuals and the Powers, Part I
Joseph Schumpeter	Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, Chapter 12, 13 and 14.

18. Toward a Comparative Perspective: Democratic, Authoritarian and Totalitarian Regimes

No readings

Sociology S412
Ballantine 206
Spring, 1983

Whitney Pope
Ballantine 752
Indiana University

SOCIOLOGY OF AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

I. INTRODUCTION

II. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS: WEBER ON THE DIMENSIONS OF HIERARCHICALLY STRUCTURED POWER AND THE WEBERIAN IMAGE OF SOCIETY

Max Weber. "The distribution of power within the political community: class, status, party." Economy and Society, V. 2, 1968, 926-39. (From Max Weber, 1958, 180-95; Reinhard Bendix and S.M. Lipset, eds., Class, Status, and Power, 2nd ed., 1966, 21-28).

III. POLITICAL ECONOMY (ECONOMY AND SOCIETY)

A. The Economy

1. Freedom and the Market (Laissez Faire)

Milton and Rose Friedman. Free to Choose, 1980. xv-xxi, 1-29, 46-61, 82-139.

2. The American Economy: Myth and Reality, Problems and Solutions

Lester C. Thurow. The Zero-Sum Society: Distribution and the Possibilities for Economic Change, 1981, 3-25, 76-102, 155-214.

B. The Corporation and Corporate Power

John Kenneth Galbraith. The New Industrial State, 3rd. ed., rev. 1979. Chapters 1-3, 6-7, 15-19, 20 (section 6 only), 26-27, 29, 32 (section 1 only), 35 (section 6 only).

C. Welfare (Rich and Poor)

Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward. The New Class War: Reagan's Attack on the Welfare State and Its Consequences, 1982.

D. Market and Authority (Political) Systems as Systems of Social Control: Comparison and Interaction.

Charles E. Lindblom. Politics and Markets: The World's Political-Economic Systems, 1977. Chapters 1,3, (45-51 only), 5-6, 11, 13-17.

IV. AMERICA IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: JAPAN AND AMERICA

Ezra F. Vogel. Japan as Number One: Lessons for America, 1980. Chapters 4 and 6 (53-96, 131-57).

V. POLITY AND SOCIETY IN AMERICA: TWO VIEWS

A. Pluralism (Liberal)

1. Tocqueville's Theory of Freedom Applied to America

   Alexis de Tocqueville. Democracy in America, 1956. Mentor paperback, Richard D. Heffner, ed. 26-72, 95-123, 134-38, 189-220, 226-28, 247-48, 254-55, 263-74, 289-317.

2. Contemporary Analysis

   Robert A. Dahl. Democracy in the United States: Promise and Performance, 3rd ed., 1976. Introduction, chapters 6-7, 10, 21, 24, 26, 29.

B. Marxism (Radical)

1. State Expenditures (the Budget) and Legitimacy

   James O'Connor. "The fiscal crisis of the state." Richard Quinney (ed.) Capitalist Society, 1979. 270-98.

2. Work and Workers

   David M. Gordon, Richard Edwards, and Michael Reich. Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States, 1982.

3. Classes and the State: Who Rules?

   Fred Block. "The ruling class does not rule." In Quinney, 128-40.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Spring Term, 1984
Meetings: Tues.,Thurs.
10:35-11:50 in 9.259

David Stark
Office: Soc/Psych Bldg. 328
Phone: 684-2625

Duke University
Sociology 181

SOCIALIST SOCIETIES

This course is divided into three parts. The first part examines the idea of socialism in Western thought. Two conceptions (both evident in Marxism) are contrasted: In the first, Saint-Simonian, tradition socialism becomes identified with a project of social engineering, centralized planning, and the expansion of the state. In the second, Romantic, tradition socialism is viewed as the self-organization of society and the "expansion" of civil society against the state. The second part of the course focusses on existing socialist societies with an emphasis on the Soviet-imposed states of Eastern Europe. Themes include: class structure, the organisation of work, social policy, women's issues, inequality, intellectual "dissidence," and coalition politics involving workers' organizations. The third part of the course briefly examines Yugoslavia and Sweden as alternative models to existing state-socialism.

Throughout the course, social scientific readings will be interspersed with novels and films. (Scheduling of films will be announced.) Literary and scientific genres are complimentary ways of producing and representing knowledge about society. By dealing with both together in this course the student constructs a deeper understanding of contemporary state-socialism.

WEEK OF: *REQUIRED READINGS

Jan 10 Introduction

Conceptions of Socialism in Western Thought (I): The Romantic Tradition

*William Morris, News from Nowhere

George Lichtheim, The Origins of Socialism, pp. 3-60, 110-123

E. P. Thompson, William Morris, Part IV, "Necessity and Desire, pp. 641-730.

E. P. Thompson, "Romanticism, Utopianism and Moralism: The Case of William Morris," New Left Review #99 (Sept.-Oct. 1976) pp. 83-111.

Jan. 17 Conceptions of Socialism in Western Thought (II): Scientific Socialism.

*Karl Marx, Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 in Robert Tucker (ed.), The Marx-Engels Reader, pp. 70-101.

*Friedrich Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, in Tucker, pp. 583-717.

George Lichtheim, The Origins of Socialism.
"The Saint-Simonians," pp. 39-59;
"The Marxian Synthesis," pp. 185-214.

*Karl Marx, excerpts from the Grundrisse, in Tucker, pp. 283-290.

WEEK OF *REQUIRED READINGS

Alvin Gouldner, The Two Marxisms, Chapter 2, "Marxism as Science and Critique," pp. 32-60

Leszek Kolakowski, "Introduction" and "The Myth of Human Self-identity: Unity of Civil and Political Society in Socialist Thought" and Charles Taylor, "Socialism and Weltanschauung," in L. Kolakowski and S. Hampshire (eds.) The Socialist Idea: A Reappraisal.

Jan. 24 Socialism as an alternative road to industrialism.

*Robert Tucker, "The Image of Dual Russia," in Cyril Black (ed.) The Transformation of Russian Society, pp. 587-605.

*Robert Tucker, "Stalinism as Revolution From Above," in Tucker (ed.) Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation pp. 77-108.

Fernando Claudin, The Communist Movement, vol.II, pp. 480-536.

George Konrad and Ivan Szelenyi, Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power, pp. 67-74, 85-142.

Rudolf Tökes, "Human Rights and Political Change in Eastern Europe," in Tökes (ed.) Opposition in Eastern Europe, pp. 1-25.

*Chris Harman, Bureaucracy and Revolution in Eastern Europe, pp. 23-66.

Jan 31 Approaches to the study of contemporary state-socialism.

*David Lane, The Socialist Industrial State, pp.

T. H. Rigby, "Politics in the Mono-Organizational Society" in Andrew C. Janos (ed.) Authoritarian Politics in Communist Europe, pp. 31-80.

*Jerry Hough, The Soviet Union and Social Science Theory, Chap. 2, "The Bureaucratic Model..." pp. 49-70.

Feb. 7 Reds vs. experts.

*Frank Parkin, "System Contradiction and Political Transformation," in Anthony Giddens and David Held (ed.), Classes, Power and Conflict pp. 574-587.

Kendall Bailes, Technology and Society Under Lenin and Stalin

*Jack Bielasiak, "Lateral and Vertical Elite Differentiation in European Communist States," Studies in Comparative Communism (Spring-Summer, 1978), pp. 121-141.

Jerry Hough, The Soviet Union and Social Science Theory, "The Party Apparatchiki and Interest Group Theory" pp. 71-106.

Rudolf Bahro, The Alternative in Eastern Europe.

WEEK OF *REQUIRED READINGS

*Kendall E. Bailes, "The Technical Specialists: Social Composition and Attitudes," in Linda Lubrano (ed.) The Social Context of Soviet Science, pp. 137-171.

Feb. 14 Intellectuals on the road to class power?

*Ivan Szelenyi, "The Position of the Intelligentsia in the Class Structure of State Socialist Societies," Critique #10-11 (Winter-Spring 78-79) pp. 51-76.

George Konrad and Ivan Szelenyi, Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power.

*Alec Nove, Review of Konrad and Szelenyi, Telos #44 (Summer 1980) pp. 225-233.

*Maria Hirszowicz, "Intelligentsia Vs. Bureaucracy" in Hirszowicz, The Bureaucratic Leviathan.

Alexander Zinoviev, The Radiant Future (novel).

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, "The Smatterers," in Solzhenitsyn, From Under the Rubble pp. 229-278.

Feb. 21 Forms of inequality (I).

*Ivan Szelenyi, "Social Inequalities in State Socialist Redistributive Economies," International Journal of Comparative Vol. 19 nos. 1-2, pp. 63-87.

*David Lane, Socialist Industrial State Chap. 7, pp. 177-211.

Anthony Giddens, Class Structure of the Advanced Societies, pp. 223-254.

Kornai, Janos "The Dilemmas of a Socialist Economy: The Hungarian Experience," Cambridge Journal of Economics Vol. 4 pp. 147-157.

Victor Zaslavsky, "Socioeconomic Inequality and Changes in Soviet Ideology," Theory and Society 9(2) March 1980 pp. 383-407.

Walter Connor, "Social Change and Stability in Eastern Europe," Problems of Communism Nov.-Dec. 1977, pp. 16-32.

Zsuzsa Ferge, A Society in the Making: Hungarian Social and Societal Policy 1945-75, Chaps. 6 and 7, pp. 195-273.

Henry K. Flakierski, "Economic Reform and Income Distribution in Poland: The Negative Evidence" Cambridge Journal of Economics 1981 (5) pp. 137-158.

Feb. 28 Forms of inequality (II).

*David Lane and Felicity O'Dell, The Soviet Industrial Worker: Social Class, Education and Control. (pages to be assigned)

Ivan Szelenyi, "Urban Development and Regional Management in Eastern Europe," Theory and Society vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 169-205.

WEEK OF *REQUIRED READINGS

Vladimir Voinovich, The Ivankiad.

*Ferge, Zsusza A Society in the Making Chapter 4, pp. 126-155.

*George Konrad and Ivan Szelenyi, "Social Conflicts of Under-urbanization," in Michael Harloe (ed.) Captive Cities: Studies in the Political Economy of Cities and Regions pp. 157-177.

March 1 Mid-term Exam

Mar. 2-11 SPRING BREAK

The Politics of Culture (I): East European Novelists.

(Choose one)

George Konrad, The Caseworker (paperback).

George Konrad, The Citybuilder.

George Konrad, The Loser (paper).

Milan Kundera, The Joke (paper).

Alexander Zinoviev, The Radiant Future.

Jerzy Andrejewski, The Appeal.

Mar. 13 The Politics of Culture (II): Dissent and nonconformism.

*Josef Skvorecky, "Red Music," in Skvorecky The Bass Saxaphone, pp. 3-28.

*Miklos Haraszti, Interview in Labour Focus on Eastern Europe vol. 2, no. 6 (Jan. 1979).

Vladimir Bukovsky, To Build a Castle--My Life as a Dissenter.

Walter Connor, "Dissent in Eastern Europe: A New Coalition?" Problems of Communism Jan. Feb. 1980, pp. 1-17.

*Ivan Szelenyi, "Socialist Opposition in Eastern Europe: Dilemmas and Prospects," in Tökes, Opposition in Eastern Europe, pp. 187-208.

Mar. 20 The Organization of Work.

*Miklos Haraszti, A Worker in a Worker's State

*Charles Sabel and David Stark, "Planning, Politics, and Shop-Floor Power: Hidden Forms of Bargaining in Soviet-Imposed State-Socialist Societies, Politics and Society, vol. 11, no. 4.

Alex Pravda, "Industrial Workers: Patterns of Dissent, Opposition," in Tökes, Opposition in Eastern Europe.

Gyorgy Markus, "Planning the Crisis: Remarks on the Economic System of Soviet-Type Societies" Proxis International, vol. 1, no. 3 (Oct. 1981), pp. 241-257.

WEEK OF *REQUIRED READINGS

L. Hethy and Cs. Mako, "Work Performance, Interests, Powers and Environment (The Case of Cyclical Slowdowns in a Hungarian Factory)" in P. Halmos (ed.) Hungarian Society, Sociological Review Monograph no. 17, pp. 123-150.

March 27 The Politics of Reform: The Prague Spring.

*Gregory Grossman "Economic Reform: The Interplay of Economics and Politics," in R. V. Burks (ed.) The Future of Communism in Europe, pp. 105-140.

Wlodimierz Brus, "Political System and Economic Efficiency: The East European Context," Journal of Comparative Economics vol. 4 (1980) pp. 40-55.

*Chris Harman, Bureaucracy and Revolution in Eastern Europe, Chapter 8 "1968: Czechoslovakia - Arrested Reform," pp. 188-241.

*Alex Pravda, "Some Aspects of the Czechoslovak Economic Reform and the Working Class in 1968," Soviet Studies vol. 25, no. 1 (July 1973), pp. 102-124.

Gordon Skilling, Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution.

Galia Golan, Reform Rule in Czechoslovakia, The Dubeek Era, 1968-69.

Apr. 3 The Polish Summer.

*Daniel Singer, The Road to Gdansk (pages to be assigned).

Jadwiga Staniszkis, "The Evolution of Forms of Working-class Protest in Poland: Sociological Reflections on the Gdansk-Szczecin Case, August 1980" Soviet Studies 33(2) April 1981. pp. 204-231.

*Jean Woodall, "New Factors in the Unrest in Poland," Government and Opposition, vol. 16, no. 1 (Winter 1981), pp. 37-57.

Jacques Rupnik, "Dissent in Poland, 1968-78: The End of Revisionism and the Rebirth of Civil Society" in Tökes (ed.) Opposition in Eastern Europe, pp. 60-112.

*Alex Pravda, "Poland 1980: From'Premature Consumerism' to Labour Solidarity" Soviet Studies 34(2) April 1982, pp. 167-199.

Stefan Nowak, "Values and Attitudes of the Polish People" Scientific American July 1981, vol. 245 (1)

April 10 Solidarity: Trade Union, Political Party, or Social Movement?

*Solidarity Document, "Directions for Action," Socialist Review #59 (Sept.-Oct., 1981), pp. 159-179.

*Martin Malia, Review article on Solidarity, New York Review of Books 29(4) March 18, 1982.

WEEK OF *REQUIRED READINGS

*Andrew Arato, "Empire vs. Civil Society: Poland 1981-82" Telos #50 (Winter 1981-82) pp. 19-58.

Alain Touraine, et al., "A Social Movement: Solidarity" Telos #53 (Fall 1982) pp. 128-136.

April 17 Alternatives to State-Socialism.

Bogdan Denitch, The Legitimation of a Revolution

*Ellen Comisso, "Yugoslavia in the 1970's: Self-Management and Bargaining," Journal of Comparative Economics June 1980.

Ellen Comisso, Workers' Control Under Plan and Market.

John Stevens The Transition to Socialism.

*Carmen Sirianni, "Production and Power in a Classless Society: A Critical Analysis of the Utopian Dimensions of Marxist Theory," Socialist Review #59 (Sept.-Oct. 1981) pp. 33-82.

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Films (screenings to be scheduled)

Angi Vera, P. Gabor (Hungary)

Time Stands Still, P. Gothar (Hungary)

Mephisto, P. Gothar (Hungary)

Lucia, H. Solas (Cuba)

Man of Marble, A. Waja (Poland)

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Requirements: Lectures will be given on Tuesdays; the Thursday meeting will be devoted to discussion of the readings. Informed participation in the weekly discussion is encouraged and will count as a part of each person's final grade. Materials marked (*) are the minimal reading requirements; students should select from the recommended readings according to their interests. Graduate participants will be expected to cover a substantial part of these supplementary materials. A mid-term exam will be given on March 2. A short paper (7-10 pp.) responding to one or more of the novels or films in the course (or on some other topic of your choice) will be due at the end of the term. A take-home final will be given.

Northwestern University

POLITICAL SCIENCE

SEMINAR ON
D65: CONFLICT WITHIN NATIONS: THEORY AND RESEARCH

Winter 1982-83 T. R. Gurr

Meetings: Scott 212, Friday 2:00-5:00

The subject of this seminar is empirical theory and research on internal conflict, including mass political protest, political violence, and revolution. There is a very large, interdisciplinary literature on these subjects. The primary purpose of the seminar is to give participants a wide familiarity, through reading and critical discussion, of the major trends in this literature. Intensive reading is required of all participants. The secondary purpose is to provide a forum for research on some aspects of conflict research.

Requirements:

All members are expected to do the required reading (specific selections will be announced weekly); to prepare summaries of selected items from the reading and present them to the seminar; and to participate actively in seminar discussions. In addition, seminar members are asked to elect one of the following options:

Reading Option:

Five short, critical essays are required, dealing with selected topics in the literature. Each essay will be 5 to 10 typewritten pages in length. Suggested essay topics are given at the end of each topic in the syllabus. The first essay is due on the first session of the third week of the quarter. The others are due at two-week intervals, with the last due during exam week. Students preparing these essays will lead one or more seminar discussions of their topic.

Research Option:

Students who want to pursue original research on conflict within nations may do so by preparing two related papers on a topic worked out with the instructor.

--The first paper should specify a theoretical or empirical problem in the literature, review briefly previous work on the subject, and present a thorough bibliography on the subject. This paper should be c. 15 typewritten pages in length and is due at the beginning of the 6th week of the quarter.

--The second paper should present an original theoretical argument or empirical analysis on the topic of the first paper. This paper should be c. 20 pages in length and is due during exam week.

Reading:

Four books have been ordered through Norris Book Store. A reserve shelf with copies of some other course materials will be set up in the Department's research room. In addition, considerable reading is required from A. S. Cohan, Theories of Revolution (1975), a book which is unfortunately out of print. It, along with the other heavily-used books, will be on reserve at the University Library.

*T. R. Gurr, Why Men Rebel, Princeton University Press, 1970 (paper).

*T. R. Gurr, ed., Handbook of Political Conflict: Theory and Research, Free Press, 1980 (hardcover).

*Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China, 1979 (paper).

Charles Tilly, From Mobilization to Revolution, Addison-Weslay, 1978 (paper).

*Also in core collection.

IMPORTANT NOTE: Not all topics covered in this syllabus will necessarily be dealt with during the seminar. The sequence in which we will treat them also is subject to change.

Topic 1: Concepts, Approaches, Values

Basic issues are introduced in this week's reading. There are diverse ways of conceptualizing group conflict in general (Mack and Snyder, Fink); and various ways of defining its more dramatic and violent forms, especially revolution (Cohan, McCaughrin). Some of the sharpest debates arise over which theoretical approaches best explain group conflict in general (Eckstein; Gurr, 1973; Tilly) and revolution in particular (Cohan). Most theory and research has been concerned principally with the causes of conflict; less often with processes or resolution; and least of all with outcomes (Freeman).

The study of political conflict also raises a number of intersecting normative and empirical questions. Nardin (1971) is critical of theoretical approaches which treat the state as a neutral conflict manager rather than an active party to conflict. Whereas Nardin (1971) aims to improve empirical theory, Freeman rejects empirical approaches in favor of normative ones and uses Burke's theory of revolution as a weapon against empiricists. MacIntyre makes a similar argument that social scientists who attempt to explain violent conflict in a scientific way are pursuing a chimera. Others assert that scholars who do research on causes of conflict in the scientific mode are handmaidens of repressive governments (Wolin). Kelman (1981) surveys the history of peace research as a movement within international relations and comments on its normative commitments and its critics. Nardin (1980: 460-471) surveys the radical critiques made of empirical conflict research. He also addresses the question of the practical applications of conflict research (1980: 471-488) and concludes that the scholar should be concerned with moral conduct, not instrumentalism. Singer's rejoinder is that peace and conflict researchers must concern themselves with the applications of knowledge.

Reading:

*Raymond W. Mack and Richard C. Snyder, "The analysis of social conflict--toward an overview and synthesis," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1 (1957), 212-48.

Clinton F. Fink, "Some conceptual difficulties in the theory of social conflict," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 12 (December 1968), 412-60.

A. S. Cohan, Theories of Revolution: An Introduction, Halsted Press, 1975, chs. 1-3.

Craig McCaughrin, "An ahistoric view of revolution," American Journal of Political Science, 20 (November 1976), 637-651.

*Harry Eckstein, "Theoretical approaches to explaining collective political violence," in T. R. Gurr, ed., Handbook of Political Conflict, Free Press, 1980, 135-166.

T. R. Gurr, "The revolution--social change nexus: some old theories and new hypotheses," Comparative Politics, 5 (April 1973), 359-392.

*Charles Tilly, From Mobilization to Revolution, Addison-Wesley, 1978, pp. 1-51.

*Herbert C. Kelman, "Reflections on the History and Status of Peace Research," Conflict Management and Peace Science, 5 (Spring 1981), 95-110.

Terry Nardin, Violence and the State: A Critique of Empirical Political Theory, Sage Professional Papers in Comparative Politics No. 20 (1971).

*Terry Nardin, "Theory and practice in conflict research," in T. R. Gurr, ed., Handbook of Political Conflict, Free Press, 1980, 461-489.

*J. David Singer, "Conflict research, political action, and epistemology," in T. R. Gurr, ed., Handbook of Political Conflict, Free Press, 1980, 490-499.

Michael Freeman, "Edmund Burke and the theory of revolution," Political Theory, 6 (August 1978), 277-298.

T. R. Gurr, "Freeman on Burke on revolution," Political Theory, 6 (August 1978), 299-311.

Alasdair MacIntyre, "Ideology, social science, and revolution," Comparative Politics, 5 (April 1973), 321-342.

Sheldon S. Wolin, "The politics of the study of revolution," Comparative Politics, 5 (April 1973), 343-358.

*Especially recommended.

Essay Topics:

Compare (a) the conceptions of social conflict proposed by Mack and Snyder v. Fink, and (b) the conceptions of revolution presented by Cohan, McCaughrin, Gurr 1973, and Tilly.

Summarize and evaluate the criticisms of empirical conflict research made in Nardin (1980: 460-471), Freeman, MacIntyre, and Wolin.

Topic 2: Data for the Empirical Analysis of Conflict

This weeks' readings are concerned with diverse descriptive and theoretical questions. The primary purpose is to acquaint you with the principal compilations of data on civil conflict and the problems involved in their collection and analysis. The secondary purpose is to provide a sampling of the kinds of conceptual and theoretical issues that are dealt with in quantitative conflict research.

Three levels of data on civil conflict can be distinguished: individual, group, and national. (1) At the individual level, the question is "who participates and why." Most of the empirical answers use data from U.S. cities in the late 1960's (Grofman and Muller, Sears and McConahay); McPhail surveys studies published through 1970. Comparative work on other Western societies is beginning to appear (Marsh). There is also a small empirical literature on revolutionary leaders, reviewed by Rejai. (2) The group level of quantitative description is largely neglected by political scientists but actively explored by sociologists, especially Tilly and his students and also Gamson, all of whom are concerned with the properties and fortunes of "challenging groups." (3) The most abundant data collections are national aggregate(s); Hudson and Taylor count "events" and conflict deaths 1947-66 in 136 countries; a representative analysis using these data is Hibbs, 1973. The forthcoming third edition of the World Handbook (1982) extends this data collection to 1977; a preliminary analysis of the newest data is offered by Jodice. Banks has gathered data for the period 1919-1966. Gurr's data cover the 1960's only but include coded information on participation, motives, and targets of action. Other general collections of conflict data include the Feierabends and Nesvold, and Rummel. There are also cross-national collections of data on particular forms of conflict, represented in this reading by research on strikes (Hibbs, 1976, and Shorter and Tilly); work on violent seizures of power (Calvert, Thompson); and interventions (Eckhardt and Azar).

The reliability and validity of quantitative conflict data has been challenged by a number of critics. Wide-ranging commentaries are Hardisty (Dose) and Snyder. Examples of empirical research on event-data reliability are Doran et al., and Jackman and Boyd.

Reading:

Individual Participation in Conflict

*Clark McPhail, "Civil Disorder participation: A critical examination of recent research," Amer. Soc. Review 36 (Dec., 1971), 1058-1073.

Bernard N. Grofman and Edward N. Muller, "The strange case of relative gratification and potential for political violence: The V-curve hypothesis," APSR 67 (August, 1973), 514-539.

*Alan Marsh, Protest and Political Consciousness, Sage, 1977, chs. 1, 2.

David O. Sears and John B. McConahay, The Politics of Violence: The New Urban Blacks and the Watts Riot, Houghton-Mifflin, 1973, chs. 1-4.

Mostafa Rejai, "Theory and Research in the Study of Revolutionary Personnel," in T. R. Gurr, ed., Handbook of Political Conflict, Free Press, 1980, ch. 3

Data on Collectivities in Conflict

*William A. Gamson, The Strategy of Social Protest, Dorsey Press, 1975, chs. 1-3, appendices, a, b, c.

Charles Tilly, "Collective violence in European perspective," in H. D. Graham and T. R. Gurr, Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, various publishers, 1969, ch. 1.

Charles Tilly, From Mobilization to Revolution, Appendices 1-4.

Cross-national aggregate data on conflict

Douglas A. Hibbs, Jr., Mass Political Violence: A Cross-National Causal Analysis, Wiley-Interscience, 1973, chs. 1, 2.

Charles L. Taylor and Michael C. Hudson, World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators, 2nd ed., Yale, 1972, ch. 3: "Political protest and executive change."

*David A. Jodice, "On the causes of political violence and revolution: new data from the World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators III," paper read to the annual meeting of the APSA, Washington, D.C., August 1980.

*Arthur S. Banks, "Patterns of domestic conflict: 1919-39 and 1946-66," Journal of Conflict Resolution 16 (March, 1972), 41-50.

Rudolph J. Rummel, "Dimensions of conflict behavior within tne between nations," General Systems Yearbook 8 (1963), 1-50.

*T. R. Gurr, "Political Protest and Rebellion in the 1960s: The United States in World Perspective," Ch. 2 in H. D. Graham and T. R. Gurr, eds., Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, revised ed., Sage Publications, 1979.

Ivo K. and Rosalind L. Feierabend and Betty K. Nesvold, "Social change and political violence: cross-national patterns," in Graham and Gurr, Violence in America, ch. 18.

Special Topics

William R. Thompson, The Grievances of Military Coup-Makers, Sage Professional Papers in Comparative Politics, No. 047 (1973), pp. 5-11 and appendices.

Peter Calvert, A Study of Revolution, Clarendon Press, 1970.

Douglas A. Hibbs, Jr., Long-Run Trends in Strike Activity in Comparative Perspective, MIT, Center for International Studies, 1976 (mimeo).

Edward Shorter and Charles Tilly, Strikes in France 1830-1968, Cambridge University, 1974.

William Eckhardt and Edward Azar, "Major world conflict and interventions, 1945 to 1975." International Interactions, 5 (No. 1, 1978), 75-110.

Reliability and Validity of Conflict Data

*Jean Hardisty, "Coding Data on Conflict and its Reliability," in T. R. Gurr *et al.*, *World Patterns of Conflict*, forthcoming.

*David C. Snyder, "Collective violence: A research agenda and some strategic considerations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 22 (September 1978).

Charles F. Doran *et al.*, "A test of cross-national event reliability: global versus regional data sources," *International Studies Quarterly*, 17 (June 1973), 175-203.

*Robert W. Jackman and William A. Boyd, "Multiple sources in the collection of data on political conflict," *American Journal of Political Science*, 23 (May 1979).

*Especially recommended.

Essay Topics

Compare the coverage of the major collections of cross-national conflict data and assess their reliability.

Assess the possibility and desirability of political scientists gathering data on groups in conflict, along the lines pioneered by Tilly and Gamson in sociology.

Topic 3: Deprivation and other Psycho-cultural Approaches to Conflict

This set of readings focuses on one (of four) distinctive theoretical approaches to the explanation of civil conflict. The basic theoretical assumption is that people's psychological states determine their disposition to take part in collective action. The most influential theories (Davies 1962; Gurr 1970) are based on frustration-aggression theory and assume that people's discontent or sense of relative deprivation determines their disposition to take part in collective action. Such theories often incorporate attitudinal variables such as people's forms and values (especially Gurr 1970: chs. 6, 7; and Muller 1979). Alternative or supplementary psychological arguments are made by Corning (on the evolutionary origins of aggressive behavior), Davies (1980; on the biological bases of aggression), and Schwartz (on the role of alienation).

These approaches have stimulated extensive criticism. Psychologists have criticized the inconsistent uses of the concept (Cook, Crosby and Hennigan 1977) and point out its diverse individual consequences (Mark and Cook 1979). Criticism from scholars concerned with collective action is represented below by excerpts from Cohan and Salert, and articles by Firestone and Lupsha. The psychocultural approaches also have stimulated many empirical studies. Some of these use individual-level data: see especially Muller's work (1980, 1981); the comparative survey study of political action by Barnes and Kaase; and the debate generated by Miller et al.'s attempt to test the J-curve theory. Other studies infer collective discontent from aggregate national data. A representative study is Gurr 1968; Zimmermann provides a survey of all such cross-national studies to 1979. A recent contribution is Geller (1981).

In response to criticisms of the theoretical and empirical underpinnings of Gurr's work (1968, 1970), Gurr with Duvall and Lichbach has introduced substantial revisions which attempt to bridge the gap between the psycho-cultural approach and the rational-choice and social-structural approaches, surveyed in later weeks.

Readings: Deprivation and Related Theories

*A. S. Cohan, Theories of Revolution: An Introduction. Halstead, 1975, ch. 8.

*James C. Davies, "Toward a theory of revolution," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), 5-18. Reprinted in Ivo K. and Rosalind L. Feierabend and T. R. Gurr, eds., Anger, Violence, and Politics. Prentice-Hall, 1972, ch. 4.

*T. R. Gurr, Why Men Rebel. Princeton University Press, 1970, chs. 1, 2, 6, 7, 10.

Edward N. Muller, Aggressive Political Participation. Princeton University Press, 1979, chs. 2, 9.

Peter A. Corning, "An evolutionary paradigm for the study of human aggression." In M. Nettleship, ed., War: Its Causes and Correlates, 1976.

James C. Davies, "Biological perspectives on human conflict," in T. R. Gurr, ed. Handbook of Political Conflict. Free Press, 1980, ch. 1.

David C. Schwartz, Political Alienation and Political Behavior. Aldine, 1973, chs. 1, 12, 14.

Readings: Critiques

Cook, T. D., Crosby, F., and Hennigan, K. M. "The Construct Validity of Relative Deprivation," in J. M. Suls and R. L. Miller (eds.), Social Comparison Processes, Washington, D.C.: Hemisphere, 1977.

*Mark, M. and T. Cook, "Relative Deprivation: When does it Lead to Anger, Achievement or Disengagement?" Alternatives, 8:2 (1979), 13-17.

Joseph N. Firestone, "Continuities in tho theory of violence: A review," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 18 (March, 1974), 117-142.

*Peter A. Lupsha, "Explanation of political violence: Some psychological theories versus indignation," Politics and Society, 2 (Fall, 1971), 89-104.

*Barbara Salert, Revolutions and Revolutionaries: Four Theories. Elsevier, 1976, ch. 3.

Readings: Micro-Empirical Studies

Samuel H. Barnes, Max Kaase et al., Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies. Sage 1979, esp. chs. 12, 13.

*Edward N. Muller, "The Psychology of Political Protest and Violence," in T. R. Gurr, ed., Handbook of Political Conflict. Free Press, 1980, ch. 2.

Edward N. Muller, "Theories of Revolution: Rational Choice, Psychological Benefits, and Relative Deprivation." American Political Science Review, forthcoming 1982.

*Abraham H. Miller, Louis H. Bolce, and Mark Halligan, "The J-Curve Theory and the Black Urban Riots: An Empirical Test of Progressive Relative Deprivation Theory." American Political Science Review, 71 (September 1977), 964-82.

Faye Crosby, "Relative Deprivation Revisited: A Response to Miller, Bolce, and Halligan." American Political Science Review 73 (March 1979), 103-12.

Abraham H. Miller and Louis H. Bolce, "Reply to Crosby," American Political Science Review 73, (September 1979), 818-822.

Faye Crosby, "Rejoinder." American Political Science Review, 73 (September 1979), 822-824.

James C. Davies, "The J-Curve Theory." American Political Science Review, 72 (December 1978), 1357-58.

Abraham H. Miller, Louis H. Bolce, and Mark Halligan, "Communication," American Political Science Review, 72 (December 1978, 1358-60.

J. C. Davies, "Comment," American Political Science Review, 73 (September 1979), 825-830.

Readings: Macro-Empirical Studies

M. N. Cooper, "A reinterpretation of the causes of turmoil: The effects of culture and modernity," Comparative Political Studies, 7 (October 1974), 267-291.

T. R. Gurr, "A causal model of civil strife: A comparative analysis using new indices," APSR, 62 (December 1968), 1104-1124.

*Ekkart Zimmermann, "Macro-comparative research on political protest." In T. R. Gurr, ed., Handbook of Political Conflict. Free Press, 1980, ch. 5.

*Daniel S. Geller, "Expectation-Achievement Discrepancies and Political Conflict in Latin America: A Sociopolitical Model." Unpublished paper, July 1981.

Readings: Gurrian Revisionism

*T. R. Gurr and Raymond D. Duvall, "Introduction to a formal theory of political conflict," in Lewis A. Coser and Otto N. Larsen, eds., The Uses of Controversy in Sociology, Free Press, 1976, 139-154.

R. T. Gurr and Raymond D. Duvall, "Civil conflict in the 1960's: A reciprocal theoretical system with parameter estimates," Comparative Political Studies, 6 (July, 1973), 135-169.

T. R. Gurr and Mark I. Lichbach, "Forecasting domestic political conflict." In J. D. Singer and M. D. Wallace, eds., To Augur Well: Early Warning Indicators in World Politics. Sage, 1979, 153-193.

Essay Topics

What are the principal critiques of relative deprivation theory, and how convincing are they?

Summarize the main points of controversy stimulated by the Miller et al. test of the J-curve theory using data on urban riots in the U.S. In light of the comments, how convincing are the Miller et al. findings?

In what ways and how well does the empirical work by Gurr with Duvall and Lichbach meet the criticisms made of relative deprivation theory?

* Especially recommended.

Topic 4: Rational-Choice Approaches to Civil Conflict

There is a great deal of interdisciplinary literature on conflict which assumes that parties to conflict are engaged in rational behavior, and that their strategies are chosen so as to maximize their gains. Theories of this sort are especially prevalent in the study of conflict among nations and among organizations. Two well-known theoretical treatments are Boulding and Schelling. A review of work on inter-organizational conflict is Thomas.

Our immediate concern is with attempts to explain civil conflict with theories based explicitly on the premise that actors in conflict are engaged in rational behavior. Coleman and Rogowski both criticize theories which assume that frustration is the root cause of revolution and sketch rationalistic alternatives. Leites and Wolfe posit a comprehensive theory of rebellion which rests on a cost-benefit analysis of coercion and compliance. Boschken proposes a rationalistic theory of protest. Tullock and Silver are representative of "public choice" theorists who have written theoretically about the sources of revolutionary behavior, beginning with basic questions posed by Olson's well-known work on the logic of collective action. Salert assesses Olson's work with special reference to the possibilities of deriving a rational-choice theory of revolutionary action. Olson's analysis implies that rational individuals would rarely if ever take part in dangerous collective actions; Kimber is representative of new critiques of this position. Few systematic empirical studies have attempted to test rationalistic assumptions; two exceptions are Black, and Chalmers and Shelton. The best is by Roeder, who develops a formal model and tests it empirically with data on revolutionary Russia.

Reading: Some General Theories and Evidence

Kenneth E. Boulding, Conflict and Defense: A General Theory. Harper & Row, 1963.

Mancur Olson, Jr., The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups. Harvard University Press, 1965.

Thomas C. Schelling, The Strategy of Conflict. Oxford University Press, 1963.

K. W. Thomas, "Conflict and conflict management," in M. D. Dunnette, ed., Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology. Rand-McNally, 1976, 889-935.

Reading: Rationalistic Theories of Civil Conflict

*James Coleman, "A theory of revolt within an authority structure." Peace Science Society (International) Papers, 28 (1978, 15-25.

Richard Kimber, "Collective Action and the Fallacy of the Liberal Fallacy," World Politics, 33 (Jan. 1981), 178-196.

Ronald Rogowski, "Culturalist and deprivationist theories of revolution: A rationalist critique and alternative." Paper read to the 1975 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Nathan Leites and Charles Wolfe, Jr., Rebellion and Authority: An Analytic Essay on Insurgent Conflicts, Markham, 1970, esp. chs. 2, 3, 8.

*Herman L. Boschken, "The logic of protest action," Western Political Quarterly, (March 1975), 59-71.

*Gordon Tullock, "The paradox of revolution," Public Choice, 1 (Fall, 1971), 89-99.

Morris Silver, "Political revolution and repression: An economic approach," Public Choice, 17 (Spring, 1974), 63-71.

*Barbara Salert, Revolutions and Revolutionaries: Four Theories, Elseview, 1976, ch. 2.

Reading: Empirical Studies

G. S. Black, "Conflict in the community: A theory of the effects of community size," APSR, 68 (September, 1974), 1245-61.

J. A. Chalmers and R. B. Shelton, "An economic analysis of riot participation," Economic Inquiry, 13 (September, 1975), 322-336.

*Philip G. Roeder, "Rational revolution: extensions of the 'by-product' model of revolutionary involvement." Western Political Quarterly, 35 (March 1982), 5-23.

Essay Topics

Identify major issues of agreement and disagreement between psycho-cultural and rationalistic conflict theories.

What kinds of empirical conflict research might be carried out to test rationalistic assumptions about conflict behavior?

Topic 5: Social Structural Approaches to Conflict

The theories considered here attribute civil conflict and revolution to structural characteristics of society rather than the psychological properties, beliefs, or calculations of individuals. There are three distinct "subspecies" of theories to be considered here. One, represented by Kornhauser and Huntington, focuses on the presence or lack of political institutions which can mediate between mass and elite (see Cohan, ch. 7). The second rests on Parsonian, functionalist assumptions and asks how social dysfunctions arise and what consequences they have (Cohan, ch. 6, Johnson, Smelser). The third locates the source of open conflict in social cleavages and inequalities, especially between classes (Dahrendort, Galtung).

A number of quantitative cross-sectional studies reflect these kinds of theoretical interests. For a general review of the literature and its findings see Zimmermann. Hibbs offers the most thoroughly reported state-of-the-art example and incorporates a wide range of structural variables. Another example is Jacobson. Studies which assess the impact of socio-economic change on conflict are Parvin; the Schneiders; and Sofranko and Bealer. Jackman (1978) is a good example of studies which have used structural variables to postdict the occurrence of coups. Sigelman (1979) reviews empirical studies of Huntington's theory. The link between inequality and conflict is examined by Russett and also Sigelman and Simpson (1977). All these studies use national data. (On inequality and conflict also see Topic 6, below.) Eisinger, Jiobu, Lieske, and McElroy and Singell represent another class of studies which test the effects of social structure in American cities on their experience of ghetto rebellion in the 1960's. Tong offers a preliminary report on an unusual study of the structural correlates of rebellion in 17th-century China.

Readings: Theory

*Cohan, ch. 7, "Theory of mass society."

William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society*, Free Press, 1959.

*Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, Yale University Press, 1968, chs. 1, 5.

*Cohan, ch. 6, "The functionalist approach to revolution."

Chalmers Johnson, *Revolutionary Change*, chs. 2-5.

Neil Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior*, Free Press, 1963, esp. chs. 1-5, 8, 10.

*Ralf Dahrendorf, *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*, Stanford University Press, 1959, chs. 5, 6 recommended; 7 and 8 optional.

Johan Galtung, "A structural theory of aggression," *Journal of Peace Research*, No. 2, 1964, 95-119. Reprinted in Feierabends and Gurr, eds., *Anger, Violence, and Politics*, 85-97.

Readings: Empirical studies

*Ekkart Zimmermann, "Macro-comparative research on political protest," in T. R. Gurr, ed., *Handbook of Political Conflict*, Free Press, 1980, ch. 5.

Douglas Hibbs, *Mass Political Violence: A Cross-National Analysis*, Wiley, 1973. Read esp. the summaries of chs. 3-7 and all of chs. 8-10.

A. L. Jacobson, "Intrasocietal conflict: A preliminary test of a structural theory, *Comparative Political Studies*, 6 (April, 1973), 62-83.

Manochur Parvin, "Economic determinants of political unrest," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 17 (June, 1973, 271-296.

Peter R. and Anne L. Schneider, "Social mobilization, political institutions, and political violence: A cross-national analysis," *Comparative Political Studies*, 4 (April, 1971), 69-90.

Andrew J. Sofranko and Robert C. Bealer, *Unbalanced Modernization and Domestic Instability: A Comparative Analysis*, Sage Professional Papers in Comparative Politics, No. 036 (1972).

Robert W. Jackman, "The predictability of coups d'etat: A model with African data." *American Political Science Review*, 72 (December 1978), 1261-75.

*Lee Sigelman, "Understanding political instability: An evaluation of the mobilization-institutionalization approach." *Comparative Political Studies, 12 (July 1979), 205-228.*

Bruce M. Russett, "Inequality and instability: The relation of land tenure to politics," *World Politics*, 16 (April, 1964), 442-454.

*Lee Sigelman and M. Simpson, "A cross-national test of the linkage between economic inequality and political violence," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 21 (March, 1977), 105-128.

*Peter K. Eisinger, "The conditions of protest behavior in American cities," *APSR*, 67 (March 1973), 11-28.

R. M. Jiobu, "City characteristics, differential stratification, and the occurrence of interracial violence," *Social Science Quarterly*, 52 (December, 1971), 508-520.

Jerome L. McClroy and Larry D. Singell, "Riot and nonriot cities: An examination of structural contours," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 8 (No. 3, 1973), 281-302.

James Tong, "Correlates of rebel activities in Shensi counties, 1627-1644." Paper read to the Midwest Conference of Asian Affairs, November 1979.

*Joel A. Lieske, "The Conditions of Racial Violence in American Cities: A Developmental Synthesis." APSR, 72 (December 1978), 1324-40.

Essay Topics

Almost all the empirical studies of the structural correlates of conflict use cross-national data. How adequate is this methodology for dealing with the theoretical questions at issue? Answer with reference to several specific empirical studies.

In what different ways does the theoretical literature link inequality (how much, with respect to what?) to instability or political violence?

How convincing are the results of empirical attempts to test Huntington's theory of political instability? (Read Huntington, Sigelman 1979, and the empirical studies cited in the latter.

* Especially recommended.

Topic 6: Toward Cumulative Empirical Research on Inequality and Conflict

This set of articles demonstrates how difficult it is to come to definitive conclusions about a theoretical relationship when using quantitative empirical techniques. All articles report analyses, reanalysis, and reinterpretations of the same small body of data on province-by-province support in Vietnam for the revolutionaries. In a nutshell, never has so little data meant so many different things to so many analysts. The flavor of the debate is best savored by reading the articles in chronological order.

Readings:

*Edward J. Mitchell, "Inequality and insurgency: A statistical study of South Vietnam," World Politics, 20 (April, 1968), 421-438.

*Jeffrey M. Paige, "Inequality and insurgency in Vietnam: A reanalysis," World Politics, 23 (October, 1970), 24-37.

*Dennis Paranzino, "Inequality and insurgency in Vietnam: A further reanalysis," World Politics, 24 (July 1972), 565-578.

*Anthony J. Russo, Jr., "Economic and social correlates of government control in South Vietnam," in the Feierabends and Gurr, Anger, Violence, and Politics, 1972, 314-324.

*Jack Nagel, "Inequality and discontent: A nonlinear hypothesis," World Politics, 26 (April 1974), 453-472.

Essay Topic

Which is the most convincing analysis, and why?

Topic 7: Political Process Approaches to Conflict

These theories attribute causal significance to many of the variables encountered in previous weeks, but differ in their explicit attention to historically-grounded conflict processes. Skocpol's article argues for the distinctiveness of this approach. Marxist revolutionary theory is the best-known variant, and is reviewed by Cohan, chs. 4 and 5 (and also by Dahrendorf, Part I). Salert wrestles with whether Marxist theory is susceptible to empirical assessment. Brinton, Moore, and Skocpol (1979) have formulated distinctive non-Marxist historical explanations for revolution; Brinton is concerned with the immediate pre-conditions and processes of revolution; Moore with how different patterns and outcomes of class conflict have determined contemporary political forms; Skocpol with how class alignments and external forces affect revolutionary process and outcomes. A rigorous new theory of non-revolutionary class conflict in capitalist societies is Przeworski and Wallerstein. Tilly is the most prominent of a new breed of quasi-Marxist sociologist-historians who explain violent conflict in terms of group mobilization and challenges to groups in power (see also Gamson, McCarthy and Zald, Oberschall, Waterman). Tilly is especially concerned with the impact of big structural changes in society and economy on collective action; Kick attempts to reinterpret the resource mobilization approach in a world-systems framework. Eisenstadt deals with the special combinations of structural changes that are associated with revolutions. Korpi proposes a power balance model of conflict which incorporates elements from both relative deprivation theory and mobilization theory.

Most of the empirical work stimulated by these theoretical arguments consists of more-or-less systematic historical analyses of particular instances of revolution. Tilly's work, on the other hand, has inspired a number of quantitative comparative studies in addition to historical case studies. Examples here are Butler, Frank and Kelly, Gamson, Green, Snyder, and Snyder and Tilly. Many of these studies purport to test the relative importance of social stress (hardship, deprivation) variables vs. organization and power variables. Snyder (1978) offers a general evaluation of empirical research which uses Tilly's approach. A very different empirical approach is Lichbach and Gurr's cross-sectional test of a simple model of short-term conflict processes. Midlarsky is an example of studies which examine contagion effects in conflict from an inductive rather than theoretical perspective.

Reading: Theories

Theda Skocpol,"Explaining revolutions: In quest of a social-structural approach," in Lewis A. Coser and Otto N. Larsen, eds., The Uses of Controversy in Sociology, Free Press, 1976, 155-177.

*Cohan, Theories of Revolution, chs. 4 and 5.

*Salert, Revolutions, and Revolutionaries, ch. 5.

Dahrendorf, Class Conflict in Industrial Societies, chs. 1-4.

Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution, Norton, 1938, esp. chap. 9.

Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World, Beacon Press, 1966, esp. Part 3.

*Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China. Cambridge University Press, 1979, esp. ch. 1 and pp. 282-293.

Adam Przeworski and Michael Wallerstein, "The Structure of Class Conflict in Democratic Capitalist Societies," American Political Science Review, 76 (June 1982), 215-238.

John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," Amer. Journal of Sociology, 82:6 (May 1977), 1212-42.

*Harvey Waterman, "Reasons and Reason: Collective Political Activity in Comparative Historical Perspective," World Politics, 33:4 (July 1981) 554-589.

*Charles Tilly, From Mobilization to Revolution, Chs. 3-7.

Edward L. Kick, "World system properties and mass political conflict within nations: Theoretical framework." Journal of Political and Military Sociology, 8 (Fall 1908), 175-190.

S. N. Eisenstadt, Revolution and the Transformation of Societies, the Free Press, 1978.

Anthony Oberschall, Social Conflict and Social Movements, Prentice-Hall, 1973.

Walter Korpi, "Conflict, power, and relative deprivation," APSR, 68 (December, 1974), 1569-1578.

Walter Korpi, "Conflict and the balance of power," Acta Sociologica, 17 (No. 2, 1974), 99-114.

Reading: Empirical Studies

R. J. Butler, "Relative deprivation and power: A switched replication design using time-series data of strike rates in American and British coal mining," Human Relations, 29 (No. 7, 1976), 623-641.

J. A. Frank and Michael Kelly, "'Street politics' in Canada: An examination of mediating factors." American Journal of Political Science 23 (August 1979), 593-614.

*Gamson, The Strategy of Social Protest, chs. 4-9.

C. S. Green, "Modernization, cultural heterogeneity, and civil strife," Human Organization, 34 (Spring, 1975), 69-78.

David Snyder, "Institutional setting and industrial conflict: Comparative analyses of France, Italy, and the United States," American Soc. Review, 40 (June, 1975), 259-278.

*David Snyder and Charles Tilly, "Hardship and Collective Violence in France -- 1830-1960," American Soc. Review, 37 (October, 1974), 520-532.

For comments and rejoinders on the last article see the American Soc. Review 38 (August, 1973), 494-504, and 39 (August, 1974), 607-613.

*David Snyder, "Collective violence: A research agenda and some strategic considerations." Journal of Conflict Resolution, 22 (1978), 499-534.

Mark Irving Lichbach and T. R. Gurr, "The Conflict Process," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 25:1 (March 1981), 3-29.

Manus I. Midlarsky, "Analyzing Diffusion and Contagion Effects: The Urban Disorders of the 1960s," APSR, 72:3 (Sept. 1978), 996-1008.

Essay Topics

The state, or government, plays a major role in the theories of revolution proposed by Brinton, Skocpol, and Tilly. Spell out the similarities and differences in how they conceive the state's role(s).

Compare and contrast the Marxist approach to understanding revolution, as represented in Cohen and Salert, to Tilly's approach.

Review the empirical studies of collective violence which claim to test the relative causal importance of power/mobilization/organization vs. social stress/hardship/deprivation. How convincing are they? Take into account the published criticisms of Snyder and Tilly (1972) and Snyder's critical essay (1978).

* Especially recommended.

Topic 8: The State and Conflict Management

Most of the theoretical works reviewed thus far make simplistic assumptions about the role of the state in conflict. Some assume it stands above conflict and aims at managing conflict. Others, especially the political process theories, assume that the state is more or less inevitably a party to conflict--usually a resistant or reactionary one. Nardin criticizes several theories for their assumptions about the neutrality of the state in conflict. Pirages provides a general review of literature, first on the determinants of political stability, second on techniques that authorities can use to manage conflict. Fink and Marcus and Tanter are among the writers who have contributed theoretical essays on how internal conflict can be managed. Pitterman has written an unpublished essay which uses a model analogous to that of Why Men Rebel to account, not for rebellion, but for the state's use of coercion.

There is also a large literature on counterinsurgency, prescribing strategies for controlling guerrilla and revolutionary challenges to the state. Thompson and Crozier are exemplary but dated examples. Sarkesian offers selections from the literature. Spjut provides a good, brief overview. This literature overlaps with the newer writings on responses to terrorism, included in Topic 10 below.

There is a smaller body of literature, mainly in political sociology, concerned ways in which state action can inhibit social movements. Most of this considers the effects of police activities on protest organizations in the United States. Marx (Gary not Karl) is a major contributor; his 1977 essay reviews the literature to that date. A recent empirical study in this area is Selo.

Two distinguishable bodies of empirical work relate to conflict managment by the state. There are, first, numerous studies of political "stability" and "performance," which identify characteristics and policies of political systems that reduce their vulnerability to violent attack from within. Examples listed below are Eckstein, Gurr and McClelland, and Thompson. Powell takes a somewhat different approach, examining the relationships between characteristics of party systems in democracy, political violence, and government instability. Second, there are studies which examine the interaction between regime violence and resistance to the regime. The essential (and unresolved) question is whether increasing regime violence tends to exacerbate or inhibit violent resistance to the state. Some relevant quantitative evidence (and citations to other studies) appears in Duvall and Shamir, Hibbs, Feierabend and Nesvold, Markus and Nesvold, and Snyder. Russell uses comparative case studies to get at another aspect of the question, the role of the military in determining the outcome of revolutionary attempts. A new direction in states' coercive policies is the article by Jackson et al., which develops a formal action-reaction model of the interaction between civil conflict and state coercion in dependent states.

Reading: Theory and Critique

*Terry Nardin, Violence and the State: A Critique of Empirical Political Theory, Sage Professional Papers in Comparative Politics, 020, 1971.

*Dennis Pirages,"Political stability and conflict management," in T. R. Gurr, ed. Handbook of Political Conflict, Free Press, 1980, Ch. 11.

Clinton F. Fink, "Conflict management strategies implied by expected utility models of behavior," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 15 (August, 1972), 837-858.

Gregory B. Marcus and Raymond Tanter, "A conflict model for strategists and managers," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 15 (August, 1972), 807-830.

Shelly Pitterman, "The determinants of state coercion" (unpublished seminar paper, Dec. 1980), copy available from instructor.

Reading: Counterinsurgency and Social Control

Brian Crozier, *A Theory of Conflict*, Hamish Hamilton, 1974, Parts III, V.

Sir Roger Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency*, Praeger, 1966.

Chap. VII, "The problems of the defenders," in Sam C. Sarkesian, ed. *Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare*. Chicago: Precedent, 1975.

*R. J. Spjut, "A review of counter-insurgency theorists," *Political Quarterly* (London), 49:1 (Jan.-March 1978), 54-64.

Marx, Gary T., "Civil disorder and the agents of social control," *Journal of Social Issues*, 26 (Winter 1970), 19-57.

*Marx, Gary T., "External efforts to damage or facilitate social movements: some patterns, explanations, outcomes, and complications." Paper given to Conference on the Dynamics of Social Movements, Vanderbilt University 1977, copy available from instructor.

Selo, Elaine. *Collective Actions and Disorders: A National Study of Law Enforcement Agencies and Activist Organiztaions: 1980-1981*. Ann Arbor: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan, Feb. 1982.

Reading: Political Performance and Stability

*Harry Eckstein, *The Evaluation of Political Performance: Problems and Dimensions*, Sage Professional Papers in Comparative Politics, 017, 1971.

*T. R. Gurr and Muriel McClelland, *Political Performance: A 12-Nation Study*, Sage Professional Papers in Comparative Politics, 018, 1971.

William R. Thompson, "Regime vulnerability and the military coup," *Comparative Politics*, 7 (July, 1975), 459-488.

*G. Bingham Powell, Jr., "Party systems and political system performance: Voting participation, government stability and mass violence in contemporary democracies," *American Political Science Review*, 75 (December 1981), 861-879.

Reading: The Violent State

*Gurr, Why Men Rebel, ch. 8.

*Hibbs, Mass Political Violence, ch. 6.

Ivo K. Feierabend and Betty Nesvold, "Political coerciveness and turmoil: A cross-national inquiry," Law and Society Review, 5 (August, 1970), 93-118.

Gregory B. Markus and Betty A. Nesvold, "Government coerciveness and political instability: An exploratory study of cross-national patterns," Comparative Political Studies, 5 (July, 1972), 231-244.

Raymond Duvall and Michal Shamir, "The Coercive State: Cross-National, Time-Series Indicators." Paper prepared for conference on Indicator Systems, Wissenschaftszentrum, Berlin, June, 1978.

*Steven Jackson et al., "Conflict and coercion in dependent states," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 22 (December, 1978), 627-657.

David Snyder, "Theoretical and methodological problems in the analysis of governmental coercion and collective violence," Journal of Political and Military Sociology, 4 (Fall, 1976, 277-294.

D. E. H. Russell, Rebellion, Revolution, and Armed Force: A Comparative Study of 15 Countries with Special Emphasis on Cuba and South Artica, Academic Press, 1974.

Essay Topics

Governmental responses to challenges vary: some are violently coercive, some are conciliatory. Identify some major factors (from the reading and your own thinking) which you would expect to influence those responses.

Summarize the empirical evidence on whether governmental coercion tends to increase or inhibit political violence.

* Especially recommended.

Topic 9: Outcomes of Civil Conflict

There are few general theoretical essays on the outcomes of conflict. Gurr (1980) provides a general framework for assessing outcomes and surveys the literature. Three essays which propose sets of general hypotheses on the determinants of outcomes are Gurr (1973) and Schumaker (1975, 1978). Other theoretical discussions are Bienen, Coser, and Nieburg.

Considerable research has been done on the policy impact of ghetto riots in the United States for local, state, and federal governments. The most substantial studies include Button, Iris, and Jennings (see also the review in Gurr, 1980). A more recent study which reanalyzes some of these findings is Hicks and Swank. The general conclusion is that substantial policy changes have occurred since the 1960s. Other studies examine the conditions which determine the fate of challenging groups. Gamson has made a major historical study of this question for the United States, using data on 53 groups. His results have been reanalyzed by Steedly and Foley. An in-depth comparative analysis of the fate of four American social movements is Piven and Cloward.

A few empirical studies have begun to appear on the success of protest groups outside the United States. O'Keefe and Schumaker have examined protest outcomes in four Southeast Asian countries. Frank and Kelly use the resource mobilization approach in an analysis of group success in a large sample of Canadian episodes of collective violence. Kowaleski and Schumaher use dissident sources for an empirical assessment of protest outcomes in the USSR. Swank uses aggregate analysis to analyze the effects of collective action on welfare spending in European democracies. Shin analyses the impact of protest on government policy in post-war Korea, under both democratic and autocratic regimes.

Another group of studies examines the impact of coups d'etat and revolution on societies and their economies. Studies which use cross-national data to test for such effects include Jackman, McKinlay and Cohan, and Zuk and Thompson. Other studies use time-series analyses of data from selected pre/post revolutionary societies, including Lewis-Beck and Tai. A different approach is taken by scholars who do comparative case studies of the outcomes of revolution, such as Skocpol and Trimberger. Kelley has developed a formal theory of stratification in post-revolutionary society (with Klein 1977) and tested it with data on post revolutionary Bolivia (1980).

Readings: Theory and Speculation

*T. R. Gurr, "On the Outcomes of Violent Conflict," in T. R. Gurr, ed., Handbook of Political Conflict, Free Press, 1980, ch. 6.

T. R. Gurr, "The revolution-social change nexus: Some old theories and new hypotheses," Comparative Politics, 5 (April, 1973), esp. 380-392.

*Paul D. Schumaker, "Policy responsiveness to protest-group demands," Journal of Politics, 37 (1975), 488-521.

Paul D. Schumaker, "The scope of political conflict and the effectiveness of constraints in contemporary urban protest," Sociological Quarterly, 19 (1978), 168-184.

Henry Bienen, Violence and Social Change: A Review of the Literature, University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, Free Press, 1956.

*H. L. Nieburg, "The threat of violence and social change," APSR, 56 (December, 1962), 865-873.

Readings: Outcomes of Protest

*James B. Button, Black Violence: Political Impact of the 1960s Riots. Princeton University Press, 1978, esp. chs. 1, 5.

#Mark Iris, "Systems in crisis: American and Israeli response to urban ethnic protest." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, 1978.

Alexander Hicks and Duane Howard Swank, "Paying off the poor: the Piven and Cloward AFDC caseload thesis revisited." Unpublished paper, Northwestern University, 1981.

*E. T. Jennings, Jr., "Urban riots and welfare policy change: A test of the Piven-Cloward Theory." In H. Ingram and D. Mann, eds., Why Policies Succeed or Fail, Sage Publications, 1979.

*William A. Gamson, The Strategy of Social Protest. Dorsey Press, 1975, esp. ch. 6.

Homer R. Steedly and John W. Foley, "The Success of Protest Groups: Multivariate Analyses." Social Science Research, 8 (1979), 1-15.

Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail. Pantheon Books, 1977.

J. A. Frank and Michael Kelly, "'Street Politics' in Canada: An examination of mediating factors." American Journal of Political Science, 23 (August, 1979), 593-613.

David Kowaleski and Paul D. Schumaker, "Protest outcomes in the Soviet Union," Sociological Quarterly, 22 (Winter 1981), 57-68.

The following three articles appearin in a special issue of The American Behavioral Scientist on "Group Protest and Policy Responses," vol. 26 (January-February 1983):

*Duane H. Swank, "Between incrementalism and revolution: Group protest and the growth of the welfare state"

*Michael O'Keefe and Paul D. Schumaker, "Protest effectiveness in Southeast Asia"

*Hyungsoon Shin, "Political protest and government decision-making: Korea, 1945-1972"

Readings: Outcomes of Revolution

Robert W. Jackman, "Politicians in uniform," APSR, 70 (December, 1976), 1 78-1097.

Robert D. McKinlay and A. S.Cohan, "Performance and instability in military and nonmilitary regime systems," APSR, 70 (1976), 850-864.

*Michael S. Lewis-Beck, "Some economic effects of revolution: Models, measurement, and the Cuban evidence," American Journal of Sociology, 84 (No. 5, 1979).

Chong-soo Tai, "Linkages between revolution and change in Korea," Asian Profile, 7 (1979), 25-36.

*Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China. Cambridge University Press, 1959.

Ellen Kay Trimberger, Revolution from Above: Military Bureaucrats and Development in Japan, Turkey, Egypt, and Peru. Transaction Books, 1978, esp. ch. 4.

*Jonathan Kelley and Herbert S. Klein, "Revolution and the rebirth of inequality: A theory of stratification in postrevolutionary society." American Journal of Sociology, 83 (July 1977), 78-99.

Jonathan Kelley, Revolution and the Rebirth of Inequality: Stratification in Postrevolutionary Bolivia. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

Essay Topics

Review the similarities and differences in findings about the impact of ghetto riots and rebellions on public welfare policies in the United States. What might account for inconsistencies in the findings among studies?

Compare the cross-sectional, time-series, and case-study approaches to assessing the outcomes of (revolutionary) seizures of power. Which approach(es) have provided, or should provide, the most definitive evidence?

To what extent and in what circumstances does the use of violent tactics enhance the likelihood that dissident groups will gain some of their objectives? Review the evidence and suggest specific questions for further inquiry.

*Especially recommended.

Topic 10: Terrorism

Terrorism, unlike demonstrations, coups, or revolutions, is not an objective category of behavior. Nominally it refers to a state of mind--terror--and by extension the use of targeted violence to induce that state of mind, for political purposes, by some otherwise-unspecified group. Most of the spate of literature on "terrorism" which appeared during the 1970s and early 1980s has focused on revolutionary terrorism by groups operating either inter- or intra-nationally. Terrorism by the state, or by private groups with nonrevolutionary purposes, receives relatively little attention. Much of the literature consists of indignant condemnation of terrorism and prescription of appropriate legal, political, and especially security responses. Attemps to delimit the subject conceptually, to analyze its patterns and antecedents, or to assess its affects sytematically have been less common. This bibliography categorizes and comments briefly on some of the more analytic studies. It is far from comprehensive; moreover the listing of an item here does not necessarily imply that it is either particularly competent or scholarly. On the other hand, most of the better studies are included here.

Bibliographies

Edward F. Mickolus, The Literature of Terrorism: A Selectively Annotated Bibliography. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980.

Augustus R. Norton and Martin H. Greenberg, International Terrorism: An Annotated Bibliography and Research Guide. Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1980.

Also see the bibliographic notes and reviews in Terrorism, An International Journal, published under the editorship of Yonah Alexander since 1977 (nominally four issues a year, some issues combined with others).

Data Compilations

These are published compilations of reports on events; there are other data sets in the possession of individual scholars and agencies. The first three compilations include only events which have some international connotations; in fact many such events could be equally well regarded as "internal." Sobel is a compilation of information from news accounts.

Brian M. Jenkins and Najera Johnson, International Terrorism: A Chronology, 1968-1974, Santa Monica: Rand, March 1975. There is also a 1975 supplement to this report (and possibly others).

Edward F. Mickolus, Transnational Terrorism: A Chronology of Events, 1968-1979. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Central Intelligence Agency, Research Study: International and Transnational Terrorism: Diagnosis and Prognosis. Washington, D.C.: author, PR 76 10030, April 1976.

(The last study was directed by E. F. Mickolus--see above--and contains tabulations of data on incidents. It is supplemented by a series of annual reports from the CIA's National Foreign Assessment Center titled International Terrorism in 19... for the years 1976 through 1979 and possibly beyond. Copies of these public CIA reports are available from National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Rd., Springfield, VA 22161.)

Lester A. Sobel, ed., Political Terrorism. New York: Facts on File, 1975.

Quantitative Comparative Analyses

The first three of these studies use quantitative global data on terrorist events to test and generate an assortment of empirical generalizations. The last study is based on coded information on "over 350 known terrorists."

Ted Robert Gurr, "Some Characteristics of Political Terrorism in the 1960s," in Michael Stohl, ed., The Politics of Terrorism. New York: Marcell Dekker, 1979.

Edward Mickolus, "Transnational Terrorism." In Stohl, ed., 1979.

Manus I. Midlarsky, Martha Crenshaw, and Fumihiko Yoshida, "Why Violence Spreads: The Contagion of International Terrorism." International Studies Quarterly, 24 (June 1980), 262-298.

Charles A. Russell and Bowman H. Miller, "Profile of a Terrorist." Terrorism, 1 (No. 1, 1977), 17-34.

Conceptual and Theoretical Analyses

Many conceptual discussions of terrorism are concerned with identifying the essence of terrorist action and with delimiting the subject for further analysis (for example Hutchinson, Price, Shultz, Thornton). A more fundamental question is addressed by Lopez, who proposes that the varying conceptions of terrorism, and prescriptions for dealing with it, are associated with three alternative world-views. Some studies go well beyond definitional and conceptual issues to offer interpretations (one hesitates to call them theories) of the place of terrorism in domestic and international political processes; among the best of these are Wilkinson and Jenkins. A few articles sketch general, non-conspiratorial explanations for terrorism. For some psychological approaches see Livingston, Part III. Targ proposes a social structural approach; Horowitz relates terrorism to concentrations of state power. A game-theoretic analysis is proposed by Fitzgerald. Also see the chapters in Part II in Alexander 1979.

Martha Crenshaw Hutchinson, "The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism," Journal of Conflict Resolution 16 (Sept. 1972), 383-396.

Price, H. Edward, "The Strategy and Tactics of Revolutionary Terrorism," Comparative Studies in Society and History 19 (Jan. 1977), 52-66.

Richard Shultz, "Conceptualizing Political Terrorism." In Alan D. Buckley and Daniel D. Olson, eds., International Terrorism, Current Research and Future Trends. Wayne, NJ: Avery, 1979(?)

Thomas Perry Thornton, "Terror as a Weapon of Political Agitation." In Harry Eckstein, ed., Internal War: Problems and Approaches. New York: The Free Press, 1964.

George A. Lopez, "Terrorism, Worldviews and Problems of Policy." Paper read to the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Cincinnati, March 1982.

Paul Wilkinson, Political Terrorism. New York: Wiley, 1974.

Paul Wilkinson, Terrorism and the Liberal State. New York: Wiley, 1977.

Brian Jenkins, International Terrorism: A New Mode of Conflict. Los Angeles: Crescent, 1975.

Part III, "Some Psychological Aspects of International Terrorism," in Marius H. Livingston, ed., International Terrorism in the Contemporary World. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Harry R. Targ, "Societal Structure and Revolutionary Terrorism: A Preliminary Investigation." In Michael Stohl, ed., The Politics of Terrorism. New York: Marcel Dekker, 1979.

Irving Louis Horowitz, "Political Terrorism and State Power." Political and Military Sociology 1 (Spring 1973), 147-157.

Bruce D. Fitzgerald, "The Analytical Foundations of Extortionate Terrorism." Terrorism 1 (Nos. 3-4, 1978), 347-362.

Part 2, "The Causes." In Yonah Alexander et al., eds., Terrorism: Theory and Practice. Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1979.

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Government Responses to Terrorism

The main aim of these studies is to propose strategies and tactics for dealing with and preventing terrorism. Some are concerned with general strategies of response, for example Bell, Evans, Kupperman and Trent, and Wilkinson (1977 Part II, cited under the previous heading). Others deal specifically with legal responses (Crelinsten et al., Evans and Murphy). There is also a growing tactical literature about hostage situations and how best to defuse them (Clutterbuck, Crelinsten and Szabo, Miller, Miron and Goldstein).

J. Bowyer Bell, A Time of Terror: How Democratic Societies Respond to Revolutionary Violence. New York; Basic Books, 1978.

Ernest Evans, Calling a Truce to Terror: The American Response to International Terrorism. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Robert Kupperman and Darrell Trent, Terrorism: Threat, Reality, Response. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1979.

Ronald D. Crelinsten, Danielle Laberge-Altmejd, and Denis Szabo, Terrorism and Criminal Justice: An International Perspective. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1978.

Alona E. Evans and John F. Murphy, eds., Legal Aspects of International Terrorism. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1978

Richard Lewis Clutterbuck, Kidnap and Ransom: The Response. London: Faber and Faber, 1978.

Ronald D. Crelinsten and Denis Szabo, Hostage-Taking. Lexington, Mass.: Heath Lexington, 1979.

Abraham H. Miller, Terrorism and Hostage Negotiations. Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1980.

M. S. Miron and A. P. Goldstein, Hostage. New York: Pergamon, 1979.

Case Studies

There are many case studies of national and international revolutionary groups which have used terrorism. The citations here are representative not exhaustive. Several recent books include surveys, by world region or country, of terrorist activities: Alexander, Livingston, and Stohl. Kohl and Litt sympathetically document three urban guerrilla movements in Latin America, movements which by others' accounts have been "terroristic." (Writers who are sympathetic to the causes advanced by terroristic means typically refer to the actors as "revolutionaries," not "terrorists.") Ulam's history of Russian terrorism demonstrates that the tactics are not new, and also documents their role in weakening the Czarist regime. Hutchinson chronicles a more recent historical case, that of the Algerian FLN. Two works on the Red Brigades of Italy also are cited here, representative of the kinds of literature available on most of the more visible and active groups of revolutionry terrorists in the contemporary world.

Yonah Alexander, ed., *International Terrorism: National, Regional, and Global Perspectives*. New York: Praeger, 1979.

Part II, "International Terrorism in Selected Parts of the World," in Marius H. Livingston ed., *International Terrorism in the Contemporary World*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Part II, "The Practice of Political Terrorism," in Michael Stohl, ed., *The Politics of Terrorism*. New York: Marcel Dekker, 1979.

James Kohn and John Litt, *Urban Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1974.

Adam B. Ulam, *In the Name of the People*. New York: Viking, 1977.

Martha Crenshaw Hutchinson, *Revolutionary Terrorism: The FLN in Algeria, 1954-1962*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978.

Alessandro Silj, *Never Again Without a Rifle: The Origins of Italian Terrorism*. New York: Karz, 1979.

"Terrorism in Italy," Special Issue of *Terrorism*, 2 (Nos. 3/4, 1979).

Terrorism in the United States

Although revolutionary terrorism has been very rare in the United States, there are four recent essays which review the other manifestations of American terrorism, of whichGurr is themost thorough. The fourth item is a comprehensive report from a governmental viewpoint.

J. Bowyer Bell and Ted Robert Gurr, "Terrorism and Revolution in America." In Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr, eds., *Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, revised ed. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979.

Ted Robert Gurr, "Coercive Politics in the United States: The Uses and Consequences of Political Violence and Terrorism." Paper prepared for an international seminar on political violence, Istituto Cattaneo, Bologna, June 1982. (To be published in Italian translation; English version available from author.)

Frederic D. Homer, "Terror in the United States: Three Perspectives." In Michael Stohl, ed., The Politics of Terrorism. New York: Marcel Dekker, 1979.

Bernard K. Johnpoll, "Perspectives on Political Terrorism in the United States." In Yonah Alexander, ed., International Terrorism: National, Regional and Global Perspectives. New York: Praeger, 1979.

National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

Terrorism and the Media

A recurrent issue in the more general analyses of contemporary terrorism is the role of the mass media in reporting on, and thereby amplifying, the activities of groups using terrorism. It often is suggested that the media's selective attention to dramatic events is an incentive to the use of terrorist tactics. Four substantial contributions to the analysis of this issue are listed here. Schmid and de Graaf is one of the very best social science analyses of terrorism published to date.

Richard Lewis Clutterbuck, The Media and Political Violence. London: Macmillan, 1981.

Abraham A. Miller, ed., Terrorism, the Media, and the Law. Dobbs Ferry, NY: Transnational, 1982.

Alex Schmid and Janny de Graaf, Violence as Communication: Insurgent Terrorism and the Western News Media. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1982.

"Terrorism and the Media," special issue of Terrorism, 2 (Nos. 1/2, 1979).

Outcomes of Terrorism

The trajectory of academic interest in terrorism resembles that taken by earlier interest in political violence generally: concern about causes and treatment has largely preempted research on the extent to which terrorism is an effective strategy for advancing the goals of its practitioners. Three studies which attempt to address this question are cited below; the most direct attempt, by Mack, unfortunately has not yet been published.

Part IV, "Some Political Consequences of International Terrorism," in Marius H. Livingston, ed., International Terrorism in the Contemporary World. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Andrew Mack, "The Utility of Terrorism." Australia and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 14 (December 1981), 197-224.

John W. Sloan, "Political Terrorism in Latin America: A Critical Analysis." In Michael Stohl, ed., The Politics of Terror. New York: Marcel Dekker, 1979.

Philosophical and Ethical Analyses

Several scholars have attempted analyses of the moral meanings of the use of terrorism and other forms of political violence.

Ted Honderich, *Political Violence: A Philosophical Analysis of Terrorism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976.

David C. Rapaport and Yonah Alexander, eds., *The Rationalization of Terrorism*. Frederick, Md.: University Publications, 1982.

SOC 245/POL SCI 202 Winter 1983

Stanford University

SEMINAR

COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF POLITICS AND SOCIETY

PROFESSOR S. M. LIPSET

The seminar will focus on analyses of social and political developments in advanced or post-industrial society. Western societies, including Japan, have been described as post-industrial because the trends defining industrial society increasing involvement of the labor force in the industrial productive apparatus, the growth of factories, large farms, etc. -- have ended. Tertiary service occupations rather than production jobs are growing rapidly. The proportion (and, in some countries, the absolute number) of manual workers is declining. The occupations that are expanding are white-collar, technical, professional, scientific, and service oriented. The class structure now resembles a diamond bulging at the middle much more than a pyramid. High levels of education are needed for such economies and the number of students has increased many times. Education, science, and intellectual activities have become more important.

Western scholars (Daniel Bell, Zbigniew Brzezinski, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Alain Touraine), and Eastern academics (Radovan Richta and his associates in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, and Soviet analysts such as P. N. Fedoseev, V.G. Afanasyev, and V. Kosolapov), have all stressed the extent to which theoretical and scientific knowledge have become the principal source of social and economic change, altering social structure, values, and mores, developments that have given considerable prestige and power to the scientific technological elites. Soviet scholars and political leaders speak of the Scientific-Technological Revolution, a concept closely akin to that of post-industrial society. In the words of the Russian sociologist, P. N. Fedoseev, it "is a sweeping qualitative transformation of productive forces as a result of science being made the principal factor in the development of social production." Richta, et al., noted in 1968 that "science is emerging as the leading variable in the national economy. . . . There are signs of a new type of growth, with a new dynamic stemming from continual structural changes in the productive forces, with the amount of means of production and manpower becoming less important than their changing quality and degree of utilization". They pointed to "a relative decline in the amount of labor absorbed by industry and associated activities" and the prospect that the tertiary sector will encompass 40 to 60% of the national labor force in industrial countries in the coming decades, as is already the case in the United States. Touraine, though still a supporter of left-wing causes in France, suggests that the basis of power in the West has changed as a result of the trends. "If property was the criterion of membership in the former dominant class, the new dominant class is defined by knowledge and a certain level of education".

Much of the analysis of post-industrial society may be seen as congruent with (or derivative from) the Marxist orientation of historical materialism, which is based on the methodological premise

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that the principal determining factor in social development is change in the technological structure, that the cultural and political "superstructures" vary with base level of technology. This is not surprising, since a number of the key figures in this approach have been socialists or neo-Marxists, such as Daniel Bell, John Kenneth Galbraith, Alain Touraine, and Radovan Richta. The emerging strata of Post-Industrialism -- whose roots are in the university, the scientific and intellectual worlds, and are heavily represented in the public sectors and the professions -- have developed their own values. According to Ronald Inglehart, these "post-materialist" values (labeled "post-bourgeois" in his original formulation) are related to "self-actualization" needs (aesthetic, intellectual, belonging and esteem). These values manifest themselves in a desire for a less impersonal, cleaner, more cultured society, a freer personal life, and democratization of political work and community life. Such concerns run counter to those that dominate among the traditional classes of industrial society, which are preoccupied more with satisfying material needs, i.e., with sustenance and safety. For people with these objectives, the most salient concerns are a high standard of living; a stable economy; economic growth; an enduring family life; fighting crime, and maintaining order.

Regardless of what we call this change in orientations, it has profoundly affected the political arena. As Ronald Inglehart has noted, "The political implications of these hypotheses are significant. First, they imply that rising prosperity would not bring an end to political conflict, as the 'End of Ideology' thesis seemed to promise - even though this thesis was partially correct, in that

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rising prosperity apparently did bring a decline in traditional forms of social class conflict. What this thesis failed to anticipate, however, was that new grounds for conflict are likely to emerge, as new goals come to the fore". The basic political division of industrial society was materialistic, a struggle over the distribution of wealth and income that exists side by side with the continuing religious, ethnic and regional conflicts surviving from the pre-industrial world. But Post-Industrial politics is increasingly concerned with non-economic or social issues -- a clean environment; a better culture; equal status for women and minorities; the quality of education; international relations; greater democratization; and a more permissive morality, particularly as affecting familial and sexual issues.

These concerns have produced new bases for political cleavage which vary from those of industrial society and have given rise to a variety of "single-issue" protest movements. Since the existing political parties have found it difficult to link positions on the new issues to their traditional socio-economic bases of support, party loyalties and even rates of voting participation have declined in many countries. In effect, cross-pressures deriving from differential commitments to economic and social values have reduced the saliency of loyalty to parties, previously tied largely to the structural sources of cleavage in industrial society.

The reform elements concerned with post-materialist or social issues largely derive their strength not from the workers and the less privileged, the social base of the Left in industrial society, but from affluent segments of the well educated, students, academics, journalists, professionals and civil servants. The "New Left," the "New Politics," the "Green parties," all receive their support from such strata. Most workers, on the other hand, remain concerned with material questions. Less educated, less cosmopolitan, less affluent, less secure, they are also more traditional, discernably more conservative in their social views.

The United States, as the most developed nation, should be among the first to exhibit the characteristic politics of Post-Industrialism. The record would seem to sustain the assumption. As Jean-Francois Revel pointed out in 1971, "one of the most striking features of the past decade is that the only new revolutionary stirrings in the world have had their origin in the United States. . . . I mean the complex of new oppositional phenomena designed by the term 'dissent'". A critical intelligentsia, based on the new middle-class, emerged as early as the 1950s, with the formation of the "reform" movement within the Democratic party, and constituted the beginning of what was subsequently labeled the "New Politics".

As Jean Francois Revel has stressed, the "new American style" of activism, single-issue movements, and radical cultural politics spread during the 1960s to other parts of the developed world, which were entering the stage of Post-Industrialism. Campus-based protest occurred in all the European countries. Sizable left-wing tendencies rooted in the new middle-class groups challenged the moderate union-based leadership of the socialist parties. But these developments were "imitations of the American prototype, or extensions of it, and subsequent to it. . . . European dissenters, who represent the only force which has been able to rouse both the Left and the

Right, the East and the West, from their academic torpor, are the disciples of the American movements".

But beyond the staying power of the New Left, it is important to note that the classic political division of industrial society still predominates in affecting partisan support. The electorate of the Left still comes disproportionately from the working class and the more deprived, while the conservative parties continue to have greater support from the more affluent strata. Trade unions have gained a new source of influence through an increasing involvement in the economic planning process in a number of advanced industrial societies. Many elites in these countries currently see economic growth as their raison d'etre and need organized labour to sustain it. In any case, the working class will continue to maintain socio-economic leverage through what has been called their "power to disrupt".

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The Work of the Seminar

The seminar will seek to evaluate the extent to which the basic materialist class division of industrial society is being supplantted by the new bases of conflict in post-industrial society. We will first look at the theoretical works dealing with social class that seek to explain class conflict in industrial society. Then we will turn to a discussion of the major writings defining post-industrial society. This will be followed by an examination of class and political developments in different post-industrial societies, including the protest waves of the late 1960s, the rise of single-issue movements and parties (anti-nuclear, environmentalist, feminism, etc.) the relationship of ethnic separatism to post-industrial politics, and back-lash reactions to these developments. The basic concern of the seminar will be an effort to evaluate whether post-industrial trends are resulting in a new type of class structure, conflict and politics.

Papers by seminar members may deal with an evaluation of the literature defining post-industrial society, class relations, and the nature of the changes in different societies, including the various social movements.

SEMINAR: COMP STUDIES OF POLITICS AND SOCIETY SOC 245/POL SCI 202 Winter 1983

I. STRATIFICATION — THEORY

*1. R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, "Karl Marx's Theory of Social Class," in Bendix and Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power, pp. 6-11.

2. N. Bukharin, Historical Materialism.

3. Walter Korpi, The Working Class in Welfare Capitalism, pp. 1-27.

*4. S. M. Lipset, "Social Stratification," from International Encylopedia of the Social Sciences (article to be distributed).

*5. T. H. Marshall, Citizenship and Social Class.

6. Anthony Orum, Introduction to Political Sociology, pp. 11-99.

*7. Max Weber, "Class, Status and Party," in Bendix and Lipset, pp. 21-28; also in H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology.

II. CLASS AND POLITICS IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

1. P. Abramson, "Social Class and Political Change in Western Curope: A Cross-National Longitudinal Anlaysis," Comparative Political Studies, 4 (1971), pp. 131-55.

2. R. Alford, "Class Voting in the Anglo-American Political Systems," in Lipset and Rokkan, eds., Party Systems and Voter Alignments, pp. 67-93. See also Alford, Party and Society. The Anglo American Democracies.

*3. R. Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society.

4. M. Dogan, "Political Cleavage and Social Stratification in France and Italy," in Lipset and Rokkan, eds., Party Systems and Voter Alignments, pp. 129-195.

*5. A. Giddens, The Class Structure of Advanced Societies.

6. J. H. Goldthorpe, et al., The Affluent Worker: Political Attitudes and Behavior.

7. R. Hamilton, Affluence and the French Worker.

8. R. Hamilton, Class and Politics in the United States.

9. W. Korpi, The Working Class in Welfare Capitalism, pp.

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55-75, 270-335.

10. F. Myers, "Social Class and Political Change in Advanced Industrial Societies," Comparative Politics, 2 (1970), pp. 389-412.

*11. S. M. Lipset, Political Man, (expanded edition, 1981). Chs. 8,9,& 10.

*12. S. M. Lipset and S. Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments," in Lipset and Rokkan, eds., Party Systems and Voter Alignments, pp. 1-64.

III. INTELLECTUALS, "THE NEW CLASS" AND SOCIAL PROTEST

1. D. Bazelon, Power in America: The Politics of the New Class.

*2. C. Brinton, "Reflections on the Alienation of the Intellectuals," in A. Riasonovsky and B. Riznik, eds., Generalizations in Historical Writing.

3. B. Bruce-Briggs, "An Introduction to the Idea of the New Class," in Bruce-Briggs, ed., The New Class, Ch. 1, and "Enumerating the New Class," Appendix.

*4. G. B. de Huszar, ed., The Intellectuals.

5. L. Feuer, The Conflict of Generations.

6. J. K. Galbraith, The Affluent Society, Ch. 14.

7. A. Gouldner, The Future of the Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class.

8. Richard Hofstadter, Anti-Intellectualism in American Life.

9. E. Ladd and S. M. Lipset, The Divided Academy: Professors and Poltiics.

10. P. F. Lazarsfeld and W. Thielens, Jr., The Academic Mind.

11. S. M. Lipset, "Academia and Politics in America," in T. J. Nossiter, et al., eds., Imagination and Precision in the Social Sciences, pp. 211-289.

12. S. M. Lipset, Rebellion in the University.

13. S. M. Lipset and A. Basu, "The Intellectual Types and Political Roles," in L. Coser, ed., The Idea of Social Structure, pp.

*14. S. M. Lipset and R. Dobson, "The Intellectual as Rebel," Daedalus 101 (Summer 1972), pp. 137-198.

15. M. Nomad, *Rebels and Renegades*.

16. George Nowak, "Marx and the Intellectuals," *The New International* (December 1935).

*17. P. Rieff, ed., *On Intellectuals*.

*18. J. Schumpter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, Chs. 12 and 13.

19. P. Weaver, "On Adversary Government and the Liberal Audience," in A. L. Chickering, ed., *The Politics of Planning*.

IV. POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

WESTERN WRITINGS

*1. D. Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*.

2. D. Bell, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*.

3. F. Block and L. Hirschhorn, "New Productive Forces and the Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism: A Post-Industrial Perspective," *Theory and Society* (neo-Marxist).

4. Z. Brzezinski, *Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Era*.

5. V. Ferkiss, "Daniel Bell's Concept of Post-Industrial Society," *The Political Science Reviewer*, 9 (Fall 1971), pp. 61-102.

6. J. K. Galbraith, *The New Industrial State*.

7. J. Gurshuny, *After Industrial Society?*

8. B. Gustafsson, ed., *Post-Industrial Society*.

*9. Ronald Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution*, pp. 1-176.

10. H. Kahn and A. Weiner, *The Year 2000*.

11. B. S. Kleinberg, *American Society in the Post-Industrial Age*.

12. S. Mallet, *Essays on the New Working Class* (neo-Marxist).

13. J. W. Morley, ed., *Prologue to the Future: The United States and Japan in the Post-Industrial Age*.

*14. A. Touraine, *The Post-Industrial Society* (neo-Marxist).

EAST EUROPEAN APPROACHES

1. V. G. Afanasyev, *The Scientific and Technological Revolution*.

*2. P. N. Fedoseev, "The Social Significance of the Scientific and Technological Revolution," *International Social Science Journal*, 27 (1975).

3. R. Richta, et al., *Civilization at the Crossroads. Social and Human Implications of the Scientific and Technological Revolution*.

V. THE POLITICS OF POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

1. W. Beer, "The Social Class of Ethnic Activists in Contemporary France," in M. J. Esman, ed., *Ethnic Conflict in the Western World*.

2. R. Benjamin, *The Limits of Politics. Collective Goods and Political Change in Postindustrial Societies*.

3. M. J. Esman, "Perspective on Ethnic Conflicts in Industrial Societies," in Esman, ed., *Ethnic Conflict in the Western World*.

4. S. Flanagan, "Value Change and Partisan Change in Japan: The Silent Revolution Revisited," *Comparative Politics*, 11 (1979).

5. M. Harrington, "The New Class and the Left," in B. Bruce-Briggs, ed., *The New Class*, pp. 123-38.

6. R. Inglehart, "Political Dissatisfaction and Mass Support for Social Change in Advanced Industrial Society," *Comparative Political Studies*, 10 (October 1977), pp. 455-471.

*7. R. Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution*, esp. Part III, "Political Cleavages," pp. 177-319.

8. R. Inglehart, "Value Priorities and Socioeconomic Change," in S. H. Barnes, et al., eds., *Poltiical Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*, pp. 305-43.

*9. J. Jacob, "Ethnic Mobilization and the Pursuit of Post-Industrial Values," *The Tocqueville Review* 2 (1980), pp. 52-85. *23

10. M. Kasse and S. Barnes, "In Conclusion: The Future of Political Protest in Western Democracies," in Barnes, ed., *Poltiical Action*.

11. J. Kirkpatrick, "Politics and the New Class," in B. Bruce-Briggs, ed., *The New Class*, pp. 101-22.

12. K. Krishan, "Industrialism and Post-Industrialism," Sociological Review, 24 (1976, pp. 439-78.

13. E. Ladd, "Pursuing the New Class," in B. Bruce-Briggs, ed., The New Class, pp. 101-22.

14. E. Ladd, "The Shifting Party Coalitions," in S. M. Lipset, ed. Party Coalitions in the 1980s, pp. 127-152.

15. E. Ladd, Transformations of the American Party System, pp. 31-128.

*16. S. M. Lipset, Political Man (expanded edition, 1981), pp. 503-521.

*17. L. Lindberg, ed., Politics and the Future of Industrial Society, esp. chapters on California, Japan, and Sweden, pp. 19-56, 100-125, and 167-190; also chapter by Inglehart on "The Nature of Value Changes in Postindustrial Societies," pp. 57-99.

*18. A. Marsh, "The Silent Revolution, Value Priorities, and the Quality of Life in Britain," American Political Science Review, 69 (1975).

19. N. Nie, et al., The Changing American Voter, pp. 96-109, 194-209.

20. S. Rothman, "Intellectuals and the American Party System," in S. M. Lipset, ed., Emerging Coalitions in American Politics, pp. 325-49.

21. J. Schmidman, Unions in Postindustrial Society.

22. T. Tsurutani, Political Change in Japan: Response to Postindustrial Challenge.

*on reserve

Robert D. Putnam and Jorge Dominguez

Reading List for Government 2105

Harvard University

1. September 28: Political Behavior

Brian Barry, Sociologists, Economists and Democracy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

Seymour Martin Lipset, ed., Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1981).

Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy (New York: Harper and Row, 1957).

2. October 5: Modernization

Max Millikan and Donald Blackner, eds., The Emerging Nations: Their Growth and United States Policy (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961), pp. 3-90.

Jason Finkle and Richard Gable, eds., Political Development and Social Change. Second edition. (New York: Wiley, 1971), as follows:

Gideon Sjoberg, "Folk and 'Feudal' Societies," pp. 6-14
Joseph Gusfield, "Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change," pp. 15-26
Karl Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," pp. 384-401
Cyril Black, "Phases of Modernization," pp. 436-455
Lucian Pye, "The Nature of Transitional Politics," pp. 538-549

Gabriel Almond and James Coleman, The Politics of the Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 532-576

Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (New York: Doubleday, 1960), Chapter 2

Alex Inkeles, "The Modernization of Man," in Myron Weiner, ed. Modernization (New York: Basic Books, 1966), pp. 138-150

Samuel Huntington, "Change to Change: Modernization, Development and Politics," Comparative Politics 3 no. 3 (April 1971): pp. 283-322

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, " Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," Comparative Politics 10 no. 4 (July 1978): pp. 535-552

(October 5)

Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph, The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 3-14

José Ocampo and Dale Johnson, "The Concept of Political Development," in James Cockcroft, André Gunder Frank, and Dale Johnson, eds. Dependence and Underdevelopment: Latin America's Political Economy (New York: Anchor Books, 1972), pp. 399-424

Recommended

Samuel Huntington and Jorge Domínguez, "Political Development," in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds., Handbook of Political Science: Macropolitical Theory, III (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1975), pp. 1-98

3. October 12: State Building

Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968)

Adam Przeworski, "Institutionalization of Voting Patterns, cr is Mobilization the Source of Decay," American Political Science Review, 69, no. 1 (March 1975): 49-67

4. October 19: Political Culture

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965).

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, eds., The Civic Culture Revisited (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980).

5. October 26: Revolution

Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966). Read as much as you can but, at a minimum, one chapter from Part One, one chapter from Part Two, and all of Part Three.

Ted Robert Gurr, Why Men Rebel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 3-58, 317-359

(October 26)

Charles Tilly, "Revolutions and Collective Violence," in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science: Macropolitical Theory*, III (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1975), pp. 483-547

Stanley Rothman, "Barrington Moore and the Dialectics of Revolution," *American Political Science Review* 64 no. 1 (March 1970): 61-85, 182-183 (includes Moore's reply and Rothman's rejoinder).

Theda Skopol, "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's *Social Origins*," *Politics and Society* 4 no. 1 (Fall 1973): 1-34

Recommended

Joel S. Migdal, *Peasants, Politics and Revolution: Pressures toward Political and Social Change in the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 226-256

E.J. Hobsbawn, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movements in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: Norton, 1959), pp. 1-12.

Eric R. Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), pp. 276-302

Jorge I. Domínguez, *Insurrection or Loyalty: The Breakdown of the Spanish American Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 1-7, 241-255

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

6. November 2: *The Soviet Union*

Jerry Hough and Merle Fainsod, *How the Soviet Union is Governed* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979)

Seweryn Bialer, *Stalin's Successors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)

7. November 9: *Bureaucratic-authoritarianism*

Guillermo O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-authoritarianism Studies in South American Politics* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California-Berkeley, 1973), pp. 1-165

(November 9)

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Reflections on the Pattern of Change in the Bureaucratic-authoritarian State," Latin American Research Review 13 no. 1 (1978): 3-38

Karen Remmer and Gilbert Merkx, "Bureaucratic-authoritarianism Revisited," and Guillermo O'Donnell, "Reply to Remmer and Merkx," in Latin American Research Review 17 no. 2 (1982): 3-36, 41-48

Juan Linz, "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes," in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds. Handbook of Political Science: Macropolitical Theory, III (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1975), pp. 191-192, 264-357. Recommended: read entire chapter.

David Collier, ed., The New Authoritarianism in Latin America (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), Chapters 1, 3-5, 7-9

8. November 16: Oppositions and Democracy

Robert Dahl, ed., Political Oppositions in Western Democracies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

Robert Dahl, ed., Regimes and Oppositions (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), Chapters 3, 5, 8 and 9

Aristide Zolberg, Creating Political Order: The Party-States of West Africa (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), pp. 19-36, 66-92, 128-150

Jerry Hough, "The Soviet System: Petrification or Pluralism?" in Lenard Cohen and Jane Shapiro, eds., Communist Systems in Comparative Perspective (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1974), pp. 449-486

Daniel H. Levine, Conflict and Political Change in Venezuela (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 3-144

Arturo Valenzuela, The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp. xi-xv, 3-110

N.B. If you cannot do all the reading, please give "equal time" to Western Europe and to the "Rest-of-the-World."

9. November 23: Interest Mediation

Suzanne Berger, ed., Organizing Interests in Western Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

Philippe Schmitter and Gerhard Lehmbruch, eds., Trends in Corporatist Intermediation (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1979)

Gabriel Almond, "Corporatism, Pluralism and Professional Memory," World Politics 35 no. 2 (January 1983): 245-260

10. November 30: Political Cleavages

Arend Lijphart, Democracy in Plural Societies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977)

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives (New York: The Free Press, 1967), pp. 1-56

11. December 7: Political Economy: I

C.E. Lindblom, Politics and Markets (New York: Basic Books, 1977)

John Manley, "Neopluralism: A Class Analysis of Pluralism I and Pluralism II," American Political Science Review 77 no. 2 (June 1983): 368-388 (includes replies by Dahl and Lindblom).

12. December 14: Political Economy: II

Mancur Olson, The Rise and Decline of Nations (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982)

Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

Sociology-Political Science G6048y
Spring 1984
5E2 Law - T 2:10-4

A. Silver
414 Fayerweather
Ofc. Hr: T 4:10-6

Columbia University

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY: COMPARISONS OF INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES

An introduction to some central substantive concerns in the political sociology of the contemporary West. Some subjects, such as political parties, movements, public opinion, elites, voting, revolution, are omitted because they are treated extensively in other courses in the Departments of Sociology or Political Science. Here, the emphasis is on the broad areas of regime and society and of class and politics. These are illustrated by readings which will sometimes be analyzed in detail in class, and sometimes serve as context for discussions drawing on other material. In either case, the conduct of sessions assumes that the required reading has been done in advance; the vitality of the course depends on this.

I. Political Sociology of the Nation-State: State and Society Revisited

V. G. Kiernan, "State and Nation in Western Europe," PAST & PRESENT 31, July 1965, 20-33.

J. P. Nettl, "The State as a Conceptual Variable," WORLD POLITICS XX (4), July 1968, 559-92.

Gianfranco Poggi, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN STATE**, Chs. V, VI.

Franz Schurmann, "Disquisition on the Theory of the State," THE LOGIC OF WORLD POWER, 127-42.

Charles Maier, "'Fictitious bonds...of wealth and law' on the theory and practice of interest representation" in Suzanne Berger (ed.), ORGANIZING INTERESTS IN WESTERN EUROPE, 27-56.

II. Social Bases of Regimes

Arthur Rosenberg, IMPERIAL GERMANY*, Ch. 1 (1-27).

Barrington Moore, THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY**, Chs. 1, 3, 7-9, Epilogue.

Otto Kirchheimer, "Changes in the Structure of Political Compromise," STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE 9, 1941, 264-89. Reprinted in Kirchheimer, POLITICS, LAW AND SOCIAL CHANGE (ed. F. Burn & K. Shell), 131-59.

III. Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism

Juan Linz, "An Authoritarian Regime: Spain" in E. Allardt and Y. Litunen (eds.), CLEAVAGES, IDEOLOGIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS, 292-342; also in E. Allardt (ed.), MASS POLITICS.

Franz Neumann, BEHEMOTH: THE STRUCTURE AND PRACTICE OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM 1933-1944*, 221-28, 255-305, 327-37, 349-61.

David Schoenbaum, HITLER'S SOCIAL REVOLUTION: CLASS AND STATUS IN NAZI GERMANY 1933-1939*, Ch. 4, 113-51.

T. W. Mason, "The Primacy of Politics: Politics and Economics in National Socialist Germany," S. J. Woolf (ed.), THE NATURE OF FASCISM*, 165-95.

IV. Interests, Groups and Participation in Liberal Democracy

Otto Kirchheimer, "Private Man and Society," POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY 81, March 1966, 1-24. Also in Kirchheimer, POLITICS, LAW AND SOCIAL CHANGE (ed. F. Burn and K. Shell), 453-77.

Mancur Olson, Jr., THE LOGIC OF COLLECTIVE ACTION**, Chs. 1 (Section D may be omitted), 4, 5, 6 (5-22, 33-52, 98-167).

Suzanne Berger and Michael Piore, DUALISM AND DISCONTINUITY IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES, 1-12, 132-48.

V. Political Sociology of Military Mobilization

Hans Speier, "Militarism in the Eighteenth Century," SOCIAL RESEARCH, Aug. 1936; and "Class Structure and Total War," AMER. JNL. OF SOCIOL., June 1939. (Both reprinted in Speier, SOCIAL ORDER AND THE RISKS OF WAR, 230-62.)

Alfred Vagts, A HISTORY OF MILITARISM, Ch. 7 (186-228).

V. ...Military Mobilization, ctd.

Richard Challener, THE FRENCH THEORY OF THE NATION IN ARMS, Ch. 2, 46-90.

Harold D. Lasswell, "The Garrison State," AM. JNL. OF SOC. 46, Jan. 1941, 455-68.

Jacques van Doorn, "The Decline of the Mass Army in the West," ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY 1 (2), Feb. 1975, 147-56.

Morris Janowitz, "Military Institutions and Citizenship in Western Societies," Janowitz, MILITARY CONFLICT, 78-88.

John E. Mueller, "Trends in Popular Support for the Wars in Korea and Vietnam," AM. POLI. SCI. REVIEW 65, June 1971, 358-75.

Neil Fligstein, "Who Served in the Military 1940-1973?" ARMED FORCES & SOCIETY 6 (2), Winter 1980, 297-312.

Mark Martin, WARRIORS TO MANAGERS: THE FRENCH MILITARY SINCE 1945, Ch. 5, 118-64.

VI. Regimes and Churches: Political Sociology of Secularism, Indifference and Communities of Faith

Paul Tillich, "The Social Functions of the Churches in Europe and America," SOCIAL RESEARCH III (1), 90-104.

Thomas Sanders, PROTESTANT CONCEPTS OF CHURCH AND STATE*, 1-24, 317-38. Try to skim 179-252.

Michael Fogarty, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY IN WESTERN EUROPE, 41-58, 83-100, 150-58, 174-76, 423-35.

John Courtney Murray, "On the Structure of the Church-State Problem" in W. Gurion & M. A. Fitzimmons, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

Heinrich Rommen, THE STATE IN CATHOLIC THOUGHT, TBA.

Stanley Hoffman, "The Politics of Catholic Parochial Schools: An Historical and Comparative Analysis," JNL. OF POLITICS 25, 1963, 49-71.

Hugh McLeod, "The Dechristianization of the Working Class in Western Europe," SOCIAL COMPASS XXVII (2-3) 1980, 191-214.

John Madeley, "Politics and the Pulpit: The Case of Protestant Europe," WEST EUROPEAN POLITICS 5 (2), April 1982, 149-71.

VII. Intellectuals

Roberto Michels, "Intellectuals," ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (ed. Alvin Hansen, 1932) 8, 118-24.

Michael Walzer, THE REVOLUTION OF THE SAINTS: A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF RADICAL POLITICS*, Chs. 1-2 (section on "Puritanism as an Ideology" only), 9 (1-30, 300-22).

Fritz Ringer, THE DECLINE OF THE GERMAN MANDARINS: THE GERMAN ACADEMIC COMMUNITY 1890-1933*, Introduction and Ch. 1 (1-80).

Vernon K. Dibble, "Social Science and Political Commitments: The Young Max Weber," ARCHIVES EUROPEENES DE SOCIOL., 9, 1968, 92-110.

Antonio Gramsci, "The Intellectuals," SELECTIONS FROM THE PRISON NOTEBOOKS (Q. Hoare & G. N. Smith, eds.), 1-23.

Richard Hofstader, ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM IN AMERICAN LIFE*, Ch. 8, 197-229.

Joseph Ben-David and Randall Collins: "A Comparative Study of Academic Freedom and Student Politics," S. M. Lipset (ed.), STUDENT POLITICS, 148-90. (In reserve under names of authors.)

Alvin Gouldner, THE FUTURE INTELLECTUALS AND THE RISE OF THE NEW CLASS, 1-27, 49-53.

VIII. Some Politically Relevant Conceptions of Class Structure

Norbert Wiley, "America's Unique Class Politics: The Interplay of the Labor, Credit and Commodity Markets," AM. SOCIOLOGICAL REV. 32 (4), Aug. 1967.
Harold Wilensky, "Work, Careers and Social Integration," INTERNATL. SOCIAL SCI. JOURNAL, 1960, 543-60.
Morris Janowitz, THE LAST HALF-CENTURY: SOCIAL CHANGE AND POLITICS IN AMERICA*, Ch. 5 (123-63).
Harley L. Browning and Joachim Singelmann, "The Transformation of the U.S. Labor Force: The Interaction of Industry and Occupation," POLITICS & SOCIETY 8 (3-4) 1978, 481-509.
Erik Olin Wright and J. Singelmann, "Proletarianization in the Changing American Class Structure," (Michael Burawoy and Theda Skocpol, eds., MARXIST INQUIRIES, 1983, 176-209.

IX. The Middle Class in Politics: Decline, Transformation or Resurgence?

Jurgen Kocka, WHITE COLLAR WORKERS IN AMERICA 1890-1940: A SOCIAL-POLITICAL HISTORY IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE**, TBA.

X. "New Middle Class": Skill, Career and Politics

Daniel Bell, THE COMING OF POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY*, 212-42.
Nicos Poulantzas, CLASSES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM*, Part 3, Ch. 3 (224-50).
Andre Gorz, "Technology, Technicians and Class Struggle" in Gorz, ed., THE DIVISION OF LABOUR: THE LABOUR PROCESS AND CLASS STRUGGLE IN MODERN CAPITALISM. 159-83.
Magali Sarfatti Larson, "Proletarianization and Educated Labor," THEORY & SOCIETY 9 (1), Jan. 1980, 131-75.
Anthony Giddens, THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF THE ADVANCED SOCIETIES*, Ch. 10.

XI. Political Relations of Labor and Residence

Herbert Gutman, "Class, Status and Community Power in 19th Century American Cities" in Gutman, WORK, CULTURE AND SOCIETY*, Ch. 5 (234-60).
C. Wright Mills, THE POWER ELITE*, Ch. 2 (30-46).
John Alt, "Beyond Class: The Decline of Industrial Labor and Leisure," TELOS 28, 1976, 55-80.
Morris Janowitz, THE LAST HALF-CENTURY: SOCIAL CHANGE AND POLITICS IN AMERICA*, Ch. 8 (264-319).
Patrick Ashton, "The Political Economy of Suburban Development" in W. Tabb and L. Sawyers, eds., MARXISM AND THE METROPOLIS*, 64-89.
David Harvey, "Labor, Capital and Class Struggle Around the Built Environment in Advanced Capitalist Societies" in K. R. Cox, ed., URBANIZATION AND CONFLICT IN MARKET SOCIETIES, 9-37.
Matthew Edel, "Home Ownership and Working Class Consciousness," INTERNATL. JNL. OF URBAN & REGIONAL RESEARCH 6, 1982.

XII. Working Class: Incorporation and Antagonism in West Europe

Val R. Lorwin, "Working Class Politics and Economic Development in Western Europe," AM. HIST. REV. 63, Jan. 1958, 338-51.

XII. Working Class..., ctd.

Edward Shorter and Charles Tilly, STRIKES IN FRANCE 1830-1968**, Chs. 1-3, 6, 7, 13 (1-72, 147-93, 335-50).

Giovanni Arrighi, "The Class Struggle in 20th Century Western Europe," unpublished working paper, Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies.

James E. Cronin, "Stages, Cycles and Insurgencies: The Economics of Unrest," I. Wallerstein and T. Hopkins (eds.), PROCESSES OF THE WORLD-SYSTEM, Ch. 4 (101-18).

Goran Therborn, "Why Some Classes are More Successful than Others," NEW LEFT REVIEW 138, March-April 1983, 37-55.

Leo Panitch, "Trade Unions and the State," NEW LEFT REVIEW 125, 1981, 21-44.

XIII. Democracy in America

David Price, "Community and Control: Critical Democratic Theory in the Progressive Period," AMER. POLITICAL SCI. REV. 68 (4), Dec. 1974, 1663-78.

Morris Janowitz and Gerald Suttles, "The Social Ecology of Citizenship," Rosemary C. Sarri and Y. Hasenfled, eds., THE MANAGEMENT OF HUMAN SERVICES, 80-104.

Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, ON DEMOCRACY**, Chs. 3, 6 (47-87, 146-83).

Robert Dahl, DILEMMAS OF PLURALIST DEMOCRACY**, TBA.

* * *

Yale University
Political Science 700a (Fall 1980)

Comparative Politics: Graduate Seminar

Wed. 10:30 - 12:30

Alfred Stepan

Offices: Political Science Department
124 Prospect Street, Room 211
Office Hours: Thursday, 11:00 - 1:00

Latin American Council
85 Trumbull Street
Telephone: 432-4422

This course is the core introductory seminar to comparative politics rather than a research seminar. There will be a final 48 hour take home exam of three questions that will be given out after the seminar on December 10. An additional paper which explores an important theme of your own choice may also be submitted, but to be considered it should be handed in with the exam.

There is no official text for the course but a valuable, and strongly suggested supplement to your seminar readings is Joseph LaPalombara, Politics Within Nations. This book and thirteen others are available for purchase at the Yale Co-op.

September 10: Introduction

September 17: Comparative Inquiry: Questions, Approaches and Methods

Required: Two important statements concerning the scope of comparative politics are:

Arend Lijphart, "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method," American Political Science Review, Vol. 65 (Sept. 1971), pp. 682-693 and Giovanni Sartori, "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics," American Political Science Review, Vol. 64 (Dec. 1970), pp. 682-693. Both the Sartori and Lijphart articles are reprinted in the very useful reader that you should be familiar with: Roy C. Macridis and Bernard E. Brown, Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings (Dorsey Press, 1977, Fifth Edition).

Also see R.E. Holt and J.E. Turner, (eds.), The Methodology of Comparative Research. Article by Holt and Richardson, and article by Joseph LaPalombara.

Many of the Yale dissertations on comparative politics are in essence case studies. The classic article on the role of case studies in theory building is: Harry Eckstein, "Case Study and Theory in Political Science," *Handbook of Political Science*, Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson Polsby (eds.), vol. 7, pp. 19-138.

You should be familiar with the influential and controversial 1960 "manifesto" by Gabriel A. Almond that launched the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council's multivolume political development series, "Introduction: A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics," in Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, (eds.), *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, pp. 3-64.

Suggested: Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune, *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*, esp. Chapter 2.

Joseph LaPalombara, *Politics Within Nations*, Part One, pp. 1-67.

September 24: *Competing Approaches to the Questions of the State, Power, and Interest Groups*

Required: For a review of the interest group approach largely from a pluralist perspective, see:

R. Salisbury, "Interest Groups," *Handbook of Political Science*, Vol. 4, pp. 171-228.

The most complete statement of the role of the state in classical Marxism is:

F. Engels, *Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State*. (SKIM)

Two influential post-classical contributions to the Marxist view of the state are:

Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, see his *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), p. 12, also pp. 57-59, 260-261, and his *The Modern Prince* (New York: International Publishers, 1970), pp. 164-188, and Nicos Poulantzas; discussion of the "relative autonomy of the state" in his *Political Power and Social Classes*, pp. 255-321.

For a critical analysis of three major treatments of the state see:

Alfred Stepan, "Liberal Pluralist, Classic Marxist, and Organic-Statist Approaches to the State" in my *The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective*, pp. 3-45.

Suggested: Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society.

Louis Althusser's "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in his Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, pp. 127-189.

Steven Lukes, "Power and Authority" in Tom Bottomore and Robert Nisbet, (eds.), A History of Sociological Analysis, pp. 633-676.

October 1: The Modern World System: The Evolution of the World Economy, Nation-States, and Rationalizing Bureaucracies

Required: Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century, pp. 67-162.

Charles Tilly, "Reflections on the History of European State Making," in Tilly, (ed.), The Formation of National States in Western Europe, pp. 3-83.

Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," in Roth and Wittich, (eds.), Economy and Society, Vol. 2, pp. 956-1005.

Suggested: Theda Skocpol, "Wallerstein's World Capitalist System: A Theoretical and Historical Critique," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 82, pp. 1075-1090.

October 8: The Debate About Revolutions and Collective Violence

Required: Ted Gurr, "A Causal Model of Civil Strife: A Comparative Analysis Using New Ideas," American Political Science Review, Vol. 62 (1968), pp. 1104-1124.

Charles Tilly, "Revolutions and Collective Violence," in Handbook of Political Science, Greenstein and Polsby (eds.), Vol. 3, pp. 483-556.

Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions

October 15: Forms of the Polity

Required: Despite criticisms, the three part distinction between "totalitarian," "authoritarian" and "democratic" regimes is one of the most resilient and basic in the literature. The three leading formulations of each position are the following:

On the "totalitarian model" see Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brezinski, Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy (Harvard University Press, 1956), pp. 3-13, 293-303. If you have difficulty getting a copy of this book these pages are reprinted in the useful reader edited by Harry Eckstein and David Apter, Comparative Politics (1963). In the same reader you might also want to look at another iinfluential discussion of totalitarianism by Alex Inkeles, "The Totalitarian Mystique: Some Impressions of the Dynamics of Totalitarian Society," pp. 474-483.

For the "authoritarian model" read the section on authoritarianism in Juan Linz, "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes," in F.I. Greenstein and N. Polsby (eds.), Handbook of Political Science (1975), pp. 175-417, esp. pp. 252-357.

For the "democratic model" see Robert A. Dahl, Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition.

Strongly Suggested:

David Apter offers an alternative conceptualization for three basically different types of political systems--mobilization, bureaucratic, and reconciliation in his The Politics of Mobilization. A condensed version of this argument is found in his "Political Systems and Development Change" in the Holt and Turner volume.

October 22: The Debate About the Totalitarian Model and Interest Group Pluralism in the Analysis of Comparative Communism

Required: The pioneering article that broke with the monist view of totalitarianism found in last week's Friedrich-Brezinski reading and which ushered in the discussion of "pluralism" in communist politics was:

H. Gordon Skilling, "Interest Groups and Communist Politics," World Politics (1966). If possible, read it in that journal. A slightly abridged version is found in:

H. Gordon Skilling and Franklyn Griffiths, (eds.), Interest Groups in Soviet Politics (Princeton: 1971), pp. 3-18. In that same journal, also see his "Groups in Soviet Politics: Some Hypotheses," pp. 19-46.

One of the most important and controversial books to apply this new approach to the Soviet Union is Jerry Hough's rewrite of Merle Fainsod's 1953 classic How Russia is Ruled. See Jerry F. Hough and Merle Fainsod, How The Soviet Union is Governed (Harvard University Press, 1979). Come prepared for a critical discussion of his use of "participation" in Chapter 8 (pp. 277-320) and his use of "institutionalized pluralism" in Chapter 14 (pp. 518-576).

The "institutionalized pluralism" approach of Skilling and especially Hough elicited substantial controversy and some important qualifications. See:

Joseph LaPalombara, "Monoliths or Plural Systems: Through Conceptual Lenses Darkly," Studies in Comparative Communism, Vol. 8, (Autumn 1975), pp. 305-332. Article on closed reserve.

And two suggestive articles by Andrew C. Janos which should be read together:

"Group Politics in Communist Society: A Second Look at the Pluralist Model," in S.P. Huntington and C.H. Moore, (eds.), Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society: The Dynamics of Established One-Party Systems, pp. 437-450.

"Interest Groups and the Structure of Power: Critique and Comparisons," Studies in Comparative Communism, Vol. XII (Spring 1979), pp. 6-20. Article on closed reserve.

Come prepared to offer your own assessment about the state of the debate and where the field should go.

Suggested: The East European country to have most experimented with worker self-management is Yugoslavia, but for my money the country where the pluralist prospect was most reasonably entertained was not Yugoslavia of the 1960's, and certainly not post-Stalin Soviet Union, but in Czechoslovakia during the Prague uprising.

Probably the first article to develop this possiblity was A.H. Brown, "Pluralist Trends in Czechoslovakia," Soviet Studies, Vol. 17 (April 1966), pp. 453-472.

For an interesting post-mortum which argues that "this brief interlude in Czech and Slovak history deserves careful examination as a unique experiment, never attempted on such a broad scale, to 'democratize' a Communist polity," see:

H. Gordon Skilling, "Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution," in Robert A. Dahl, (ed.), Regimes and Oppositions, pp. 121-141.

October 29: The Debate About Limited Polyarchies: "Societal Corporatism" and "Consociational Democracy"

Required: Two important empirically based articles that prefigure Schmitter's attention to non-pluralist group politics in liberal democracies were:

Samuel H. Beer, "The New Group Politics" in his 1965 classic, British Politics in the Collectivist Age, pp. 318-352.

Stein Rokkan, "Norway: Numberical Democracy and Corporate Pluralism," in Robert Dahl, (ed.), Political Oppositions in Western Democracies, pp. 70-116.

Philippe Schmitter, "Still the Century of Corporatism?" Review of Politics (January 1974), pp. 85-131. This article can also be found in Frederick Pike and Thomas Stritch, The New Corporatism: Social Political Structures in the Iberian World, pp. 85-131.

Leo Panitch, "The Development of Corporatism in Liberal Democracies," Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 10 (April 1977), pp. 61-90.

A. Lijphart, "Consociational Democracy," World Politics, Vol. 21 (January 1969), pp. 207-225.

Brian Barry, "Political Accommodation and Consociational Democracy," British Journal of Political Science, Vol. 5 (1975), pp. 477-505.

Suggested: For a recent review of the new corporatism literature, see:

Leo Panitch, "Recent Theorizations of Corporatism: Reflections on a Growth Industry," British Journal of Sociology (June 1980).

For an application of consociational democracy to Columbia, see:

Robert H. Dix, "Consociational Democracy: The Case of Columbia," Comparative Politics, Vol. XII, No. 3 (April 1980), pp. 303-321.

November 5: Authoritarian Politics: The Debate About Democratic Breakdown, Varieties of Authoritarian Regimes, and the Question of Redemocratization

Required: Juan Linz, The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes

S.P. Huntington, "Social and Institutional Dynamics of One-Party Systems," in S.P. Huntington and C.H. Moore, Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society, PP. 3-47.

Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Part Three, pp. 413-508.

Suggested: Alfred Stepan, The State and Society, Chapters 2 and 3.

November 12: The Military and the Catholic Church as Complex Bureaucratic Organizations: Political Implications

Required: On Religion: Max Weber, Economy and Society, G. North and K. Wittich, (eds.), Vol. I, pp. 590-601; Vol. II, pp. 1158-1166, 1204-1211.

Ivan Vallier, Catholicism, Social Control and Modernization in Latin America, pp. 15-22, 33-37, 63-103, 137-147.

For a debate about the significance of the corporate character of the military, see various models of civil-military relations:

Amos Permutter, The Military and Politics in Modern Times, PP. 1-17.

Selections from Huntington's Theory of "Classic Professionalism" and Stepan's of "New Professionalism" are found in Amos Permutter and Valerie Plave Bennett, The Political Influence of the Military: A Comparative Reader, pp. 37-51, 280-285.

For the civil-military model in Chinda, see pp. 484-495 in the above reader.

November 19: The Debate About Participation and Mobilization in Polyarchical and Leninist Systems

Required: R.A. Dahl, "Pluralism Revisited," Comparative Politics, Vol. 10, (January 1978), pp. 191-203.

S. Verba and L. Pye, (eds.), The Citizen and Politics, articles by Verba and LaPalombara

Compare Lenin's view of workers and Soviets in State and Revolution with workers and the party in What is to be Done? Which prevailed?

Stepan, State and Society, chapter 7

Suggested: Carole Pateman, Participation and Democratic Theory, esp. Chapters I and V.

J.R. Townsend, Political Participation in Communist China.

Terry Karl, "Work Incentives in Cuba," Latin American Perspectives, No. 7 (1975), pp. 21-41. Copy on closed reserve.

December 3: Comparative Political Economy and Sociology of the Third World: The Debate About Dependency, Foreign Capital, MNCs and State Capitalism

Required: F.H. Cardoso and E. Faletto, Dependency and Development in Latin America.

Alexander Gerschenkran, "Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective," in his book of the same title, pp. 5-30.

Tom Biersteker, Distortion or Development? Contending Perspectives on the Multinational Corporation, esp. Chapters 1-3.

Immanuel Wallerstein, "Some Reflections on History, the Social Sciences, and Politics," Preface to Wallerstein The Capitalist World Economy: Essays (Cambridge U.P.: 1979), copy of article will be on closed reserve in SSL.

Colin Leys, "Underdevelopment and Dependency: Critical Notes," Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 7 (1977), pp. 92-107. Xerox copy on closed reserve.

Suggested: Joseph LaPalombara and Stephen Blank, *Multinational Corporations and Developing Countries* (1979).

Raymond D. Duvall, "Dependence and Dependency Theory: Notes Toward Precision of Concept and Argument," *International Organization*, Vol. 32 (Winter 1978), pp. 51-78.

University of Chicago
Sociology 527/Political Science 472
Wednesdays 2-4 pm
Cobb 304
Fall 1983

Instructor: Frederick Weil
Office hours: Thur 2:30-4:30
or by appointment, SS 326
962-8695; 363-6955 11 am - 10 pm

Seminar: Legitimacy and Breakdown of Liberal Democracy

Course Description:

Considers the social requisites of liberal democracy. Nineteenth century liberal theories, certain neo-Marxist theories, and more recent theories of democracy and Western political development will be reviewed, with emphasis on topics including: problems of industrialization and nation-building, the formation of party systems, the rate of development and the sequencing of crises, the role of opposition, extremism, and violence, the development of citizenship rights, and forms of conflict resolution. Illustrative material will be drawn mainly from American, British, and German history, but other cases will also be examined.

Course Requirements:

1. Good attendance and participation for class discussion.

2. Preparation of at least one class report. The report should be an interpretative summary of the readings for that meeting, and should take no more than 15 minutes to present. The presenter should turn in a 5-page summary of the report to the instructor on the Monday before class; and he or she should also prepare a 1-page outline of the report to be distributed to the class participants. Part of the class will be a discussion of the report, and will give participants a chance to test their ideas before a friendly but critical audience. Reports may be given in pairs.

3. A take-home exam based on the course reading. Exams will be distributed on the eighth week and will be due on the Friday after the final class meeting.

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Frederick Weil

Seminar: Legitimacy and Breakdown of Liberal Democracy

Course Outline

1. Theories of Social Structure and Liberal Democracy
    1. Nineteenth Century Theories
    2. Twentieth Century Theories
2. Factors Impinging on the Development and Structure of Liberal Democracy
    1. State-Building, Industrialization, and Citizenship
    2. Party Systems
    3. Political Culture
3. Strains, Crises, and Regeneration
    1. Forms of Conflict Resolution: Pluralism, Consociationalism, and Neo-Corporatism
    2. Legitimation Problems
    3. Breakdown and Regeneration

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Reading List

WEEK 1: Nineteenth Century Theories

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Garden City, New York, Anchor, 1969).
Volume 1: Part I, chs. 2-3;
  Part I, ch. 5 skim pp. 61-86; read pp. 87-98;
  Part II, ch. 4, skim;
  Part II, ch. 6, skim pp. 231-241; read pp. 241-245;
  Part II, chs. 7-8, skim;
  Part II, chs. 9.
Volume 2: Part II, chs. 1-8, 20;
  Part IV, entire.

John Stuart Mill, "Tocqueville on Democracy in America (Volume II)," ch. vi in *Essays on Politics and Culture*, edited by Gertrude Himmelfarb;
"On Liberty," ch. 1 in *Three Essays* (Oxford U. Press);
"Considerations of Representative Government," chs. 3, 6, 8 in *Three Essays*.

Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," part I, pp. 26-46 in Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader, Second Edition*;
"Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right: Introduction*," pp. 53-65 in Tucker.

Suggested:

Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism*, Introduction, Part II.

David Spitz, *The Real World of Liberalism*, ch. 3, "Freedom and Individuality: Mill's *Liberty* in Retrospect."

WEEK 2: Twentieth Century Theories

Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, Part IV, "Socialism and Democracy."

Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory*, ch. 1-2.

Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*, chs. 1, 3-5, 7-11; skim ch. 6.

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WEEK 3: State-Building, Industrialization, and Citizenship, part I

T. H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," ch. 4 of Class, Citizenship and Social Development.

Reinhart Bendix, Nation-Building and Citizenship, ch. 2-3, 8.

Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, ch. 7-8.

Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, ch. 2.

Suggested:

Morris Janowitz, "Observations on the sociology of citizenship: obligations and rights." Social Forces 59, 1 (1980): 1-24.

WEEK 4: State-Building, Industrialization, and Citizenship, part II

Raymond Grew, ed., Crises of Political Development in Europe and the United States, ch. 1, 2, 5, 9; skim one from ch. 6-8.

Leonard Binder, et al., Crises and Sequences in Political Development, skim.

Suggested:

G. Bingham Powell, Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability and Violence.

Philip Coulter, Social Mobilization and Liberal Democracy, ch. 1-4.

WEEK 5: Party Systems

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Introduction," in Party Systems and Voter Alignments; skim sections on Parsons' theories.

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Radicalism or reformism: the sources of working-class politics." APSR 77, 1: 1-18.

Giovanni Sartori, Parties and Party Systems, ch. 6.

Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, eds., Political Parties and Political Development, ch. 1, Conclusion; skim ch. 2, 3, 6.

Suggested:

Giuseppe di Palma, Surviving Without Governing: The Italian Parties in Parliament, esp. ch. 6.

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WEEK 6: Political Culture

Sidney Verba, "Conclusion: Comparative Political Culture," ch. 12 in Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., Political Culture and Political Development.

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, ch. 14 (skim character sketches), 15.

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture Revisited, skim ch. 1; read one from ch. 5-8.

Sidney Verba and Norman Nie, Participation in America, "Part" summaries, pp. 116-21, 263-64, 332-33, ch. 20.

Sidney Verba, et al., Participation and Political Equality, ch. 1, 14.

Samuel Barnes, Max Kaase, et al., Political Action, ch. 4-6, 12.

Ronald Inglehart, The Silent Revolution, ch. 2-4.

Suggested:

Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., Political Culture and Political Development, ch. 1, 3, 4, 8.

Alan Marsh, Protest and Political Consciousness.

WEEK 7: Forms of Conflict Resolution: Pluralism and Consociationalism

Robert Dahl, Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy, ch. 3, 4, 7; skim ch. 8.

Arend Lijphart, Democracy in Plural Societies, ch. 1-4.

Suggested:

Kenneth McRae, ed., Consociational Democracy, essays by Val Lorwin, pp. 33-69, and Arend Lijphart, pp. 70-89, and other selections on particular countries.

Eric Nordlinger, Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies.

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WEEK 8: Forms of Conflict Resolution: Neo-Corporatism

Philippe Schmitter and Gerhard Lehmbruch, eds., *Trends Toward Corporatist Intermediation*, ch. 1-3, 5, 6, 8, 10.

Gerhard Lehmbruch and Philippe Schmitter, eds., *Patterns of Corporatist Policy-Making*, ch. 9; skim ch. 7.

Philippe Schmitter, "Interest Intermediation and Regime Governability in Western Europe and North America," pp. 287-330 in Suzanne Berger, ed., *Organizing Interests in Western Europe*.

WEEK 9: Legitimation Problems

Jurgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*, pp. 1-50.

Daniel Bell, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, ch. 6.

Michel Crozier, et al., *The Crisis of Democracy*, ch. 1-3, 5.

Robert E. Lane, "The Legitimacy Bias: Conservative Man in Market and State," ch. 4 in Bogdan Denitch, ed., *Legitimation of Regimes*.

Ralf Dahrendorf, "Effectiveness and Legitimacy: on the 'Governability' of Democracies," *Political Quarterly* 51, 4 (October-December 1980): 393-410.

Suggested:

Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man, Second Edition*, ch. 2-3, and pp. 469-76.

Morris Janowitz, *The Last Half-Century*, ch. 4-5.

Alan Wolfe, *The Limits of Legitimacy*, pp. 245-347.

Richard Rose, "Dynamic Tendencies in the Legitimacy of Regimes," *World Politics* 21, 4 (July 1969).

Everett C. Ladd, "The Polls: The Question of Confidence," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 40 (1976-77): 544-52.

Seymour Martin Lipset and William Schneider, *The Confidence Gap: Business, Labor, and Government in the Public Mind*.

Arthur Miller, "Is Confidence Rebounding?" *Public Opinion* 6, 3 (June-July 1983): 16-20.

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WEEK 10: Breakdown and Regeneration

Juan J. Linz, The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown, and Reequilibration.

Gino Germani, Authoritarianism, Fascism, and National Populism, ch. 1-4.

Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, The Politics of Unreason, ch. 12; skim ch. 11.

Frederick Weil, Post-Fascist Liberalism: The Development of Political Tolerance in West Germany since World War II, ch. 1, 7.

Suggested:

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Europe, ch. 2 and one other.

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Themes for Next Meeting

Nineteenth Century Theories: Week 1

- Note the distinctions which are made between liberal and democratic elements: between freedom and equality.
    - How are the lines of debate are drawn between liberals, who fear tyranny of the majority, and Marx the socialist, who asserts that liberty without greater equality is impossible?
    - What are the chief causes of tyranny for Tocqueville and Mill: what inherent dangers are there for breakdown of liberal democracy? At what points do they agree with Marx's economic arguments?

- Note that all three theorists expected that political participation would serve as an education which would make citizens more capable of democratic participation.
    - What is the nature of participation in a liberal democracy for Tocqueville and Mill, and in a communist society for Marx?
    - What is the nature of the participant societies: what is each theorist's notion of a public good, and how does it shape his characterization of liberal democracy or communist society?
    - Each also expected a personality change or growth: how was this to come about?
    - What does each theorist say about the role of citizenship?
    - How does each regard individualism, and what is its relation to public life?

- What factors play the greatest roles in the development of liberal democracy for each theorist?
    - Note the status of such factors as political institutions and state structure, class structure, ethnic composition of the population, "political culture" (figure out what this could mean here), religion, industrialization.
    - Is there any sequence of development which is most favorable for liberal democracy in these theories?
    - Does a revolutionary inception help or hinder the chances of liberal democracy?
    - What role, if any, do parties, interest groups, and other associations play?

- How is social and political conflict regarded by each theorist? How is social solidarity regarded, and what is its relation to conflict?
    - How does each theorist expect conflict to be resolved and democratic policy decisions to be reached?

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Themes for Next Meeting

Twentieth Century Theories: Week 2

- What are the lines of argument among Schumpeter, Dahl, and Pateman regarding political participation in a liberal democracy?
    - Is Shumpeter's critique of what he calls "classical" democratic theory valid? Consider its relation to theories of Weber, Michels, and Burke.
    - How effective is Pateman's critique of Schumpeter? How relevant is it?
    - Dahl seems implicitly to suggest, in a variety of ways, that the debate about the extent of participation is beside the point; but he also calls for participation in local self government. Where does this stance put him in relation to nineteenth century theories? Has he resolved the debate?

- How well do Schumpeter and Dahl, in particular, distinguish between liberal and democratic elements of a regime form or political culture?
    - Are their formulations an improvement on nineteenth century theories? A clarification?
    - Note that Schumpeter tends to draw a logical distinction and that Dahl emphasizes developmental and structural (as against substantive) distinctions. Which theoretical strategy is more effective?

- What arguments do Schumpeter, Dahl, and Pateman present regarding the conditions for the success or development of liberal democracy?
    - Consider Schumpeter's five conditions for success. Do you find them tautological? Ideological or self-serving with respect to his empirical theory? Or are they true causal conditions? Is he right?
    - What do you think of Pateman's attempted revival of theories of the effects of education through participation: is she persuasive?
    - Dahl presents a very comprehensive theory: you should note its elements carefully (and don't let his civics-text style lead you to think that he is simple-minded: his footnotes prove that he is responding in a sophisticated manner to the empirical and theoretical literature and, in many ways, advancing the latter). Pay close attention to the effects of the following: the sequence of development, the substance of cleavages as against the structure of cleavages, the beliefs and intentions of elites as against institutional structure and legitimacy, political trust, foreign intervention. What do you think?

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Themes for Next Meeting

State-Building, Industrialization and Citizenship, part I: Week 3

- This is a very disparate set of readings, each of which is also in many ways inconclusive. However, they are also quite rich and suggestive. If you have trouble integrating them, at least try to pursue individual themes.

- Look for arguments regarding the effect of sequence of development on the possible emergence of liberal democracy.
    - What new arguments do this week's writers present regarding the impact of mass political mobilization or enfranchisement on the creation or preservation of liberty? Do they contradict other theories we have seen?
    - Of this week's writers, Bendix's account of the transition from traditional to modern sociopolitical forms is probably the most consistent with 19th century theories; but he seems partly to have recoiled from this position (ch. 8). What is the nature of his "reconsideration" and the implicit criticism of others of the 19th century theoretical heritage?
    - T. H. Marshall's article has proved very influential in subsequent theory-building. Note his characterization of the unraveling and re-weaving of the three strands of citizenship since medieval times, and how he makes one stage of development depend on the previous one. How strong a causal argument does he make?
    - What is the importance of sequence in Huntington (you might want to skim ch. 1) and Moore?

- Look for arguments regarding the effect of structural balances in society and polity on the chances of liberal democracy.
    - Moore makes a great deal of the balance of power between social classes and the effects of class alliances. Consider whether this account is unique to the classes Moore discusses and whether it is unique to class structure at all (as against other social structures). You might be interested to (re-) read Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, Book III) or Max Weber (*General Economic History*, Part IV) to see how Moore was anticipated in this respect.
    - What is the relation between centralization and conflict resolution in Huntington's theory? Do you find his account persuasive? (Again, you might want to skim ch. 1.) How does it contrast with Bendix's account of the relation between centralization and liberty? Note that both cite Tocqueville as an authority in this connection. What role does rate of change (esp. in political mobilization or enfranchisement) play in these accounts?

- What effect does violent conflict have on the development of liberal democracy in these theories? What effect does it have on an established liberal democratic regime? What do you think these writers would say about its effect on the re-establishment of liberal democracy in post-fascist European countries?

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Themes for Next Meeting

State-Building, Industrialization and Citizenship, part II: Week 4

- The readings for this week are pivotal, since they attempt to provide a fairly comprehensive theory (with certain exceptions which you should consider), drawing together loose strands and answering many of the issues left unresolved by earlier writers we have read. They are also pivotal because they are the major source of general historical data which can be provided in this course. You should therefore read them very carefully for both theoretical and empirical content, and keep them in mind in future weeks to see how far they are able to answer more detailed problems.

- Several of the writers for this week agree on a rough typology of sequences of development. Make certain that you understand the characterization of the different types.
  - Grew, Thomas, and Gillis variously mention "Whiggish" accounts or models of English development and "belated nation" or "faulted nation" models of German development. In fact, these terms and concepts are rather old; but while these writers attempt to maintain a critical distance from them, they still find valuable kernels around which to build their own theories. Pay particular attention to Britain and Germany as approximations of these two ideal types.
  - What is it about the particular sequencing of crises in Britain, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, and the U.S. that made the development of liberal democracy more auspicious there than in Germany, Russia, and Poland? In what sense are Spain and Portugal, France, and Italy intermediate or mixed cases?
  - How well do these typologies of sequencing correspond to older theoretical traditions we have read?

- Consider whether a model of sequences is compatible with a social-structural model of development, or whether they are contradictory.
  - What seems to be the attitude of the authors? Do they seem self-consciously to be offering an alternative to social-structural models of development like those of, say, Marx, Bendix, or Moore?
  - How well do models of sequence account for or encompass the effects of such factors as new modes of production, class conflict, religious or ethnic conflict, nationalism, international competition?
  - Look for indications of the effect of sequencing on the emergence of social movements and their institutionalization in political parties and other organizations. Consider how such crystallization or freezing of social cleavages affects subsequent chances for the development of liberal democracy.

- What effect does sequencing have on the development of a liberal democratic structuration of conflict resolution?

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Themes for Next Meeting

Party Systems: Week 5

- The analysis of political parties and party systems is an important task for many reasons, but we will concentrate on one aspect of the question: the relationship of parties and party systems to liberal democracy. More specifically, we will be interested to investigate the intermediating role that parties and party systems play between sociopolitical development and political culture (popular attitudes and participation and forms of conflict resolution) - and their effect on the chances for success of liberal democracy.

- How satisfactorily can the structure of party systems and the orientation of particular parties be explained by the "crises and sequences" model of sociopolitical development? What role does the substantive content of social cleavages play in the development of parties and party systems?
    - Seymour Martin Lipset, sometimes in collaboration with Stein Rokken, has done as much as any recent scholar to elaborate the origins of parties and party systems in terms of crises and sequences of sociopolitical development - although his work has perhaps paralleled rather than stemmed from others we have read. When reading his articles, be sure to understand how they can be interpreted in this light. The articles in the LaPalombara and Weiner volume should also, of course, be understood largely in these terms.

- Political parties and party systems can be considered as the "freezing" or institutionalization of salient social cleavages which were present at the point of party formation. Consider the effect of such institutionalized cleavages - perhaps under changed social (cleavage) conditions - on liberal democracy.
    - In what respects does the substantive content of institutionalized social cleavages in parties have a direct effect on liberal democracy? In what respects does the disjuncture between past, institutionalized social cleavages in parties and present social cleavages not organized in parties (perhaps, rather, in social movements) affect liberal democracy? You might consider here the effects which parties have in socializing new generations of political participants, and the extent to which parties are "transmission belts" between sociopolitical development and the characteristics of the current regime form.
    - Consider the extent to which "structural" aspects of parties and party systems mediate the effects of their "substantive" content on liberal democracy. LaPalombara and Weiner discuss the variety of conflictual styles institutionalized by parties, and Sartori discusses the effects of multiparty configurations of opposition. How is this structure affected by sociopolitical development, and does variation in structure (as an intervening variable) account for the effect of substantive cleavage and development on liberal democracy?

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Themes for Next Meeting

Political Culture: Week 6

- The concept of political culture as applied to the question of liberal democracy is problematical in three respects. (1) It is difficult to define political culture precisely: it certainly includes values, but where does one draw the line as one moves from there to sociopolitical action, institutions, and laws? Depending on this definition, (2) is political culture coterminous with regime type? And assuming it is not coterminous, (3) what is political culture's causal relationship, not only to regime type, but also to other developmental, institutional, and social elements we are considering in this course?

- Consider the sources of political values and forms of participation.
    - How do the experiences of sociopolitical development affect values and participation? Consider such factors as international relations and wars; economic level of development and performance; domestic conflict and governmental performance in maintaining civil peace. Consider also the role of political parties and party systems in socializing citizens, and the way in which this mediates the "crises and sequences" of development.
    - What is the effect of the internal segmentation of the population? Consider not only class, ethnic, religious, and other social cleavages, but also the ways in which dominant national cultures and subcultures are institutionalized. How do agencies of socialization - the family, the schools, generational peer groups - interact with the elements of development. Consider especially historically "cross-cutting" effects and "institutional lags."
    - Is there an identifiable internal dynamic of development, as political culture adapts to new conditions? Given a new regime form, can one identify stages of political cultural development, and if so, can one specify factors which drive this development from one stage to the next?

- The debate whether value orientations influence social and political structure at all is sterile: clearly they do. The question is the character of this influence and how it becomes effective in practice.
    - One approach to this question is that of legitimation of the regime type (this question has also variously been called "confidence" in government and "governability"). Note, however, the importance of carefully analyzing the generality or diffuseness of support - whether it depends only on certain aspects of the regime - and also its effectiveness and strength.
    - Consider how values are translated into sociopolitical action and alignment, into institution-building, and into policy-making which affects the form of regime; and consider how existing social and political structures condition the chances of participation. Can some forms of participation be radical under one regime-type and moderate under another?

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Themes for Next Meeting

Forms of Conflict Resolution:
Pluralism and Consociationalism: Week 7

- Up to this point, we have been reading works mainly on developmental aspects of liberal democracy; we now turn to questions of the internal structure and dynamics of liberal democracy, and the variety of dangers it faces of internal breakdown or deformation. We begin by looking at the structuration of conflict resolution.

- Consider the elements of an ideal typical form of conflict resolution in a liberal democracy.
  - Note the distinction between "public" and "private," and the way certain conflicts are regulated through state policy-making and others are kept out of this arena. Recall Schumpeter's provisos in this regard about how much conflict a democracy can bear: keep this in mind when reading theories of governmental "overload" or "governability." Is there room here for a concept of the "semi-public," referring to regulation of conflict among parties and large organizations below the parliamentary level?
  - What is the form of representation of interests and mediation of conflict? Note the nature of mass-elite ties and, again, the role of parties and interest groups.
  - Recall the structural requisites we have discussed for what Dahl calls "civic orientations." Schematically, they can be represented as follows: Balance of forces --> Mutual Trust --> Legitimation of a constitution framework --> Acceptance of limited public conflict and tolerance for one's opponents.

- Consider the variety of approximations, distortions, and deformations of this ideal type which would still be permissible within the bounds of practical liberal democracy. (This topic will be continued next week.)
  - Dahl and Lijphart both discuss a variety of ways in which the ideal typical conditions of liberal democracy listed in the previous section are not met, but they insist that liberal democracy can still exist under less than ideal conditions. Consider the obverse of each of the items listed above and note how Dahl and Lijphart characterize them.
  - What structural measures do Dahl and Lijphart suggest for dealing with: imbalance between conflict intensity and state capacity; elite difficulties in representing their constituencies and party/organization difficulties in mediating between the mass and state levels; tendencies toward sectional fragmentation or secession; power imbalance between parties or interest groups; deformation of "civic orientation" (i.e., an inappropriate political culture)?

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Themes for Next Meeting

Forms of Conflict Resolution: Neo-Corporatism: Week 8

- Since it is usual to view corporatism (estate-based or authoritarian) as antithetical to liberal democracy, it may come as a surprise in reading analyses of "neo-corporatism" (Schmitter's "societal corporatism" and Lehmbruch's "liberal corporatism") to find claims that this form of conflict resolution actually enhances liberal democracy's chances for success. Lehmbruch (ch. 6 in Trends) and Schmitter (in Patterns and Berger) both argue that neo-corporatism permits liberal democracy to endure levels of conflict which would otherwise endanger the regime form. Note how they argue it does so.
    - This observation is, of course, an implicit criticism of Schumpeter's proviso that problem loads must be limited in liberal democracy. How effectively does it answer Schumpeter?
    - On the other hand, Anderson reminds us that, to the extent that neo-corporatism skirts the national public arena of interest representation, it may thereby undermine liberal democracy after all: that no substitute has been found for parliamentary bodies for representing "public" interests. Note, however, how he balances considerations of legitimation with those of efficiency and containment of potentially severe conflict.
    - How do Schmitter's arguments regarding the development of neo-corporatism and other forms of interest intermediation relate to our analyses of the development of liberal democracy. Are these developments merely parallel, or are they causally linked?

- Compare the theories of neo-corporatism to theories of consociational democracy.
    - Review the last section of last week's Themes.
    - Lehmbruch suggests that they differ because neo-corporatist theories refer mainly to economic interest groups, while consociational democracy generally covers religious, ethnic, and linguistic cleavages. To what extent are they nevertheless functionally equivalent with respect to conflict resolution in liberal democracy?

- Marxists like Leo Panitch have criticized theories of neo-corporatism for many of the same reasons that they criticize pluralist theories. For, to paraphrase Schattschneider, in the neo-corporatist heaven, the celestial choir sings hymns of wage-restraint and union discipline.
    - Dahl defends pluralist theorists against such charges by pointing out that they never denied that some interest groups are more powerful than others - and that these groups can indeed influence conflict resolution to their own advantage. Can neo-corporatist theorists defend themselves similarly?
    - Panitch asserts that we need a more sophisticated (i.e., Marxist) theory of the state and suggests that capitalists would be prepared to jettison liberal democracy cum neo-corporatism (in favor, apparently, of authoritarian corporatism) if it were not to their advantage. Is this realistic? How do neo-corporatists respond?

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Themes for Next Meeting

Legitimation Problems: Week 9

- There are perhaps two ways to think about the concept of regime legitimacy in relation to levels and forms of social conflict: in the sense that Schumpeter (and Weber before him) laid out, that all regimes, including democratic, are forms of legitimate domination; and in the more classically liberal sense that the state is the legitimate public forum in which conflict from civil society is carried out.
    - When the state is seen as an agency of legitimate domination, then the concept of "overload" follows naturally from the imbalance of citizen demands for state services - and group competition for these benefits - and state capacity to provide them or to roll back demands. Note that this approach characterizes many conservatives like Huntington and Crozier, as well as leftists like Habermas (also political economists from Mancur Olson [The Rise and Decline of Nations], to Lester Thurow [The Zero-Sum Society], to James O'Connor [The Fiscal Crisis of the State]).
    - When the state is seen as a legitimate public forum, then the structuration of conflict becomes more important: the state acts at most as a referee, enforcing the rules of the game and repressing those groups which violate them. Otherwise, much is left to the contending groups to aggregate and limit demands made of each other, and to keep certain matters out of the public arena. How far does Schmitter go in this direction in his article from last week on interest intermediation and regime governability?

- A good deal of the debate over legitimation problems, governability, or state-overload centers around the dual questions, (1) how many areas of conflict (potential or actual) have become public? and to the extent that more areas have become public (2) how much does traditional regime-loyalty or simply inertia prevent dissatisfaction from reaching crisis proportions?
    - The more the state attempts to regulate conflict areas, the more it rests its legitimation on social accord in those areas. Habermas argues that the historical trend under capitalism in democratic regimes has been that the state has increased its responsibility for performance in several areas - especially economic - and thus becomes vulnerable to de-legitimation from several directions. What is Bell's critique of this theory? What do theorists of liberal democratic conflict resolution have to say about such theories?
    - Lane and Crozier both argue that traditional values prevent a complete breakdown of legitimation; Habermas argues that these values have been eroded. Who is right? Can federalism, localism, and intermediate groups - traditional liberal means of preventing governmental centralization - also forestall a thorough-going legitimation crisis? can a reduction of participation?

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Themes for Next Meeting

Breakdown and Regeneration: Week 10

- The literature on anti-liberal democratic movements, the breakdown of liberal democracy, and the rise of fascism is one of the richest in social science. Here we sample a small part of it.
  - Theories of "status anxiety" have been very important in explaining right-wing extremism. Note how Lipset and Germani use these theories, and how they relate them to macro-sociological explanations. To what extent can this perspective be incorporated into the framework we have developed in this course?
  - Linz explicitly concentrates on proximate rather than distant causes of breakdown (see pp. 5, 54), but note how he treats such elements, which we have examined, as the components of legitimacy, Sartori's polarized plural party systems, consociational expedients and the effect of a long history of accommodation - and the general question of content versus structuration of conflict, mutual trust (or its absence) among elites under crisis conditions, the extent of mass participation or mobilization, and the chances for a "re-equilibration" of democracy from above - possibly in the absence of any other alternative.

- Not much has been written from our perspective about the regeneration of liberal democracy in Western countries after an eclipse, but the history of West Germany since 1945 presents a compressed picture of many of the elements we have examined up to this week. Although I have since refined the model of the structure and development of liberal democracy somewhat, note how I tried to lay it out in my dissertation.
  - There are really three stories being told: (1) the history of Germany from the early 19th century till 1945 as an example of the belated- or faulted-nation model of development, and its transformation into a liberal democracy since 1945 under rather different conditions; (2) the manner in which agencies of socialization - schools, families, and cohort groups - taught adherence to political values depending on their historical relation to regime-types (and political events); and (3) the "internal" dynamic or development of liberal democracy, under favorable conditions, from mere legitimation of political institutions to acceptance of limited public conflict to political tolerance. How do these three stories fit together?
  - Try to hypothesize about the development of other post-fascist liberal democracies. How fully have they overcome their prior unfavorable historical developments, including resultant party systems and forms of conflict resolution? What political values do new generations learn from their families, the schools, and their peers - and in what kind of political atmosphere? Are there major "sticking places" in the internal dynamic or development of liberal democracy - an imbalance of forces, mistrust, institutional delegitimation, rejection of all conflict, intolerance?

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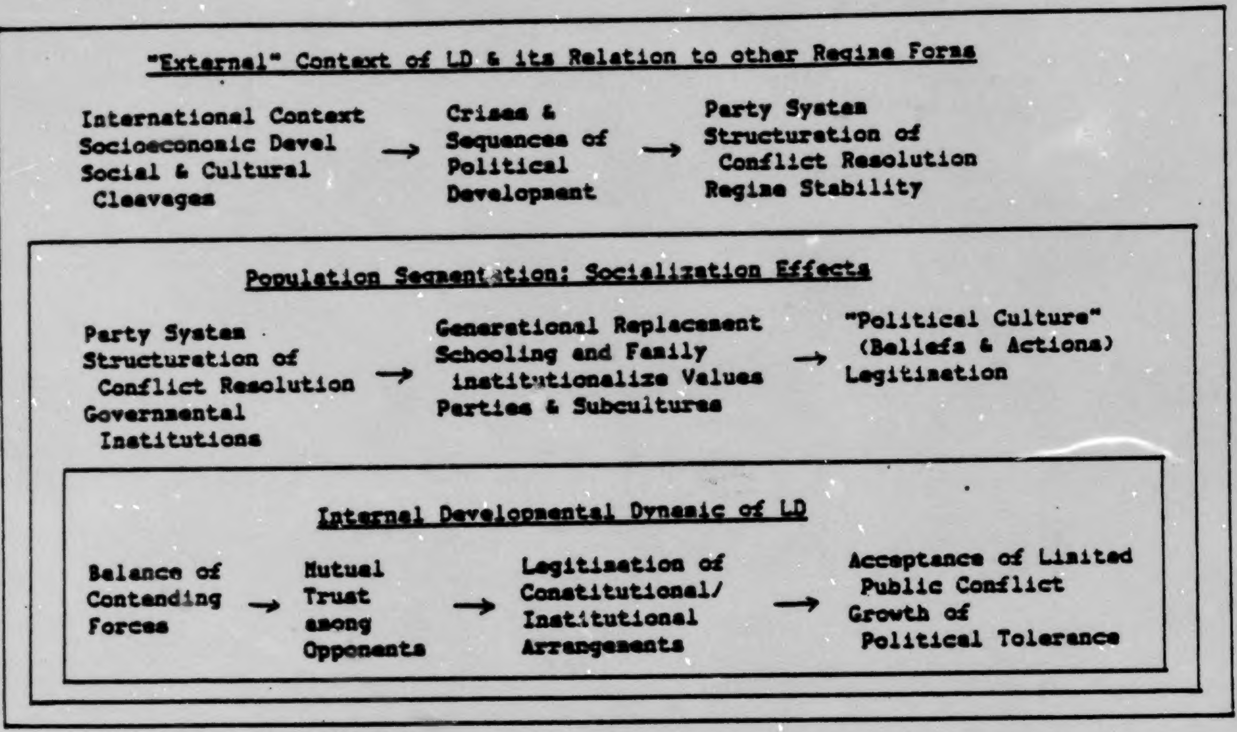
SOCIOLOGY 527/POLITICAL SCIENCE 472 - TAKE-HOME EXAM

Consider the following nested model, or framework for the analysis, of liberal democracy (LD):



"External" Context of LD & its Relation to other Regime Forms

International Context
Socioeconomic Devel
Social & Cultural Cleavages
→
Crises & Sequences of Political Development
→
Party System
Structuration of Conflict Resolution
Regime Stability

Population Segmentation: Socialization Effects

Party System
Structuration of Conflict Resolution
Governmental Institutions
→
Generational Replacement
Schooling and Family institutionalize Values
Parties & Subcultures
→
"Political Culture" (Beliefs & Actions)
Legitimation

Internal Developmental Dynamic of LD

Balance of Contending Forces
→
Mutual Trust among Opponents
→
Legitimation of Constitutional/ Institutional Arrangements
→
Acceptance of Limited Public Conflict
Growth of Political Tolerance

Comment *critically* on the adequacy of this model or framework, using the course outline and course readings. Explicate the causal links in the model, and analyze the internal logic or structure of liberal democracy as indicated in the model. If you think the model is deficient, say how and propose an alternative, if possible: but if you do so, you should still integrate the course outline and readings into your alternative formulation.

This exam is not meant to be a research paper: you are encouraged to base your answer entirely on course reading; and the more of the course material you integrate (critically) into your answer, the better. References to works on the reading list may be of a simplified and informal sort, e.g., (Marshall: 98-99), more information being provided when necessary to avoid confusion.

Exams should be no longer than 5000 words (about 20 pages pica, 16.5 pages elite, normal margins, double spaced). Exams are due Wednesday, December 7, at 5:00 pm at my office, Social Sciences 326. Since this is an exam and not a paper, I cannot grant free extensions but will have to penalize lateness.

H. L. Wilensky
Political Science 209A
Fall Semester, 1983
University of California, Berkeley

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL ECONOMY

The readings marked with two asterisks (**) are required for course purposes; readings with one (*) are recommended; the others are included as leads for term papers. IIR = Institute of Industrial Relations Reprint Series. For term papers emphasizing public policy, see leads in 209B bibliog. (Comparative Public Policy).

I. SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE IN MODERN SOCIETY. MAJOR IMAGES OF MODERN SOCIETY. INDUSTRIALISM, SPECIALIZATION, STRATIFICATION, and STYLE OF LIFE.

A. The interplay of technology, social structure, and culture. Questions to be explored in a theory of social change.

B. What is changing in modern society? The major institutional spheres. Propositions about the direction of change in kinship-religion-ethnicity-race; education-science-entertainment-aesthetics; economy; polity; locality. Each sphere is stratified.

C. "Industrial Society." "Post-industrial Society?" (See also "The Managerial Revolution," III D 3 below).

**Wilensky, H. L., and C. N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare, N.Y., The Free Press-Macmillan, 1965, enlarged paperback ed., pp. 13-133, 337-351.

**Bell, Daniel, "Notes on the Post-Industrial Society (I & II)," The Public Interest, 6 (Winter 1967), pp. 24-35 and 7 (Spring 1967), pp. 102-118. Summary of themes in Bell, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society, 1973.

Waxman, C.I., ed., The End of Ideology Debate, Simon & Schuster, 1968 (Clarion paperback, 1969).

(Note definition of "industrialization" on p. 15 of Wilensky and Lebeaux and chart on p. 230, which depicts some structural and cultural correlates of industrialism.)

D. "Capitalism" and "Industrialism." "Socialism" and "Industrialism." "Socialism" and "Democracy." "Totalitarianism," "Democracy," and "Industrialism." Convergence Theory. Major paths of development of rich countries.

**Lindblom, C.E., Politics and Markets, Basic Books, 1977, esp. Part II, chs. 5-6, chs. 1-3 and Part V and ch. 11.

**Schumpeter, J., Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, 3rd ed., Torch, Harper Row, c. 1950, chs. 1, 2, pp. 61-62, chs. 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 22, 23. Part V, an historical sketch of socialist parties, is recommended.

Moore, W.E., World Modernization: The Limits of Convergence. Elsevier, 1979.

**Wilensky and Lebeaux, pp. 13-133, 337-351 (review).

Bottomore, T. and M. Rubel, Karl Marx, Selected Writings in Sociology and Philosophy, Parts I, III, IV. McGraw-Hill paperback, 1964.

Weber, Max, General Economic History, Part IV.

Durkheim, E., The Division of Labor, Free Press, 1947, esp. Preface to Second Edition, "Some Notes on Occupational Groups," pp. 1-31.

Polanyi, Karl, The Great Transformation, Beacon Press, BP 45, 1957.

1. Neo-Marxist perspectives.

*O'Connor, J., The Fiscal Crisis of the State. St. Martin's Press paperback, 1973.

Habermas, J., Legitimation Crisis. Beacon Press, 1975.

Miliband, R., Marxism and Politics. Oxford University Press, 1977.

Wallerstein, I., The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century. Academic Press, 1976.

2. Corporatist models. Types of corporatism. "Authoritarian or state corporatism" vs. "liberal or democratic corporatism." Corporatism without labor.

**Wilensky, H.L., The 'New Corporatism,' Centralization, and the Welfare State. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976.

**Lehmbruch, G. and P.C. Schmitter, eds., Patterns of Corporatist Policy-Making. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982, especially chs. by Lehmbruch, Streeck, Regini, Kriesi, Wilson, Schmidt.

**Schmitter, P.C. and G. Lehmbruch, eds., Trends Toward Corporatist Intermediation. Beverly Hills, Sage Publications, 1979, esp. chs. by Schmitter, Nedelman and Meier, Pempel and Tsunekawa, Lehmbruch.

Berger, S., ed., Organizing Interests in Western Europe: Pluralism, Corporatism, and the Tranformation of Politics. Cambridge Studies in Modern Political Economies, 1981.

3. Mass society models. The theorists and their critics. The social, political, and cultural effects of urbanism and industrialism. Empirical and theoretical underpinnings of the image of modern society as mass

society. See also IIID below (mass media, politics, and culture).

**Wilensky, H.L., "Mass Society and Mass Culture," *American Sociological Review* 29 (April 1964), pp. 173-197.

**Wilensky and Lebeaux, chapter 5 (review).

*Kornhauser, W., *The Politics of Mass Society*. Free Press, 1959.

Mannheim, K., *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*, translated by Edward A. Shills, Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1940, Introduction, Parts I-II and V, esp. pp. 6-143, 239-265, 311-327.

Arendt, H., *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1951, Meridien paperback MG 15.
Fromm, E., *Escape from Freedom*, Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1941.

Lipset, S.M., "The Revolt Against Modernity," in Per Torsvik, ed., *Mobilization: Center-Periphery Structures and Nation Building*. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1981, pp. 451-500.

Wirth, L., "Urbanism as a Way of Life," in Hatt, P.K., and A.J. Reiss, Jr., *Cities and Society*. Free Press, 1957, pp. 46-63 (also in *Reader in Urban Sociology*, Free Press, 1951, pp. 32-49, and Bobbs-Merrill Reprint S-320.)

Fischer, C., *The Urban Experience*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976.

II. THE ENGINES OF CHANGE. THE PROBLEM OF VALUES. CULTURAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DETERMINISM vs. TECHNOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC DETERMINISM. PATTERNS OF VALUES AND BELIEFS OR OF MOTIVATION IN ECONOMIC GROWTH. IDEAS AND ECONOMIC ACTION.

Hagen, E.E., *On the Theory of Social Change*, Dorsey, 1962.

Inkeles, A. and D. Smith, *Becoming Modern: Individual Development in Six Developing Countries*, Harvard U. Press, 1974; *or* A. Inkeles, "National Differences in Individual Modernity" in Richard F. Tomasson, ed., *Comparative Studies in Sociology*, v. 1, JAI Press, Inc., Greenwich, Conn., 1978, pp. 47-72.

Redfield, R., *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*, Cornell U. Press (pap), 1953. Esp. ch. 3, "Civilization and the Moral Order."

Geertz, Clifford, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Basic Books, 1973 (paperback), ch. 4.

Bendix, R., *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait*, Anchor-Doubleday (pap), 1962.

Samuelsson, K., *Religion and Economic Action*, Basic Books.

Landes, D., The Unbounded Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present. Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Tarrow, S.G., Peasant Communism in Southern Italy, Yale U. Press, 1967.

Paige, J.M., Agrarian Revolution: Social Movements and Export Agriculture in the Underdeveloped World, Free Press, 1976.

(For an ecological perspective, see Hawley, A.H., Human Ecology, Ronald Press, 1950, esp. parts III and IV; or Hawley, A.H., "Human Ecology," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Crowell, Collier and Macmillan, 1967. On "Ideology" see Shils, E., in IESS.)

III. MAJOR SOCIAL TRENDS IN MODERN SOCIETY. STRUCTURAL UNIFORMITIES AND DIVERSITIES. ECONOMIC GROWTH, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND IDEOLOGY.

A. Kinship. Sex. Age and stage in the life cycle. Cohort vs. age vs. period. Political generation.

Goode, W.J., World Revolution and Family Patterns. Free Press, 1963, pp. 1-15. Also in Jack Goody, ed., Kinship. Penguin Books, 1971, pp. 365-383.

Bane, Mary Jo, Here to Stay. Basic Books, 1976.

Mannheim, K., "The Problem of Generations," Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge. Oxford University Press, 1952 (1928), pp. 276-320.

Elder, G.H. Jr., Children of the Great Depression. University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Two applications:

1. Women's work.

*Wilensky, H.L., "Women's Work: Economic Growth, Ideology, and Social Structure," Industrial Relations 7 (May, 1968), pp. 235-248

Epstein, Cynthia, Women's Place, Univ. of Calif. Press, 1971. c. 1970.

2. Life cycle squeeze and the morale curve. The universal importance of stage in the family life cycle. Interlocking cycles of family, work, consumption, participation, and morale. Post-industrial values?

*Wilensky, H.L., "Family Life Cycle, Work, and the Quality of Life: Reflections on the Roots of Happiness, Despair, and Indifference in Modern Society," in Working Life: A Social Science Contribution to Work Reform, edited by Bertil B. Gardell and Gunn Johansson.

London: Wiley, 1981, pp. 235-265. Also IIR Reprint #442.

B. The end of social class? The relative importance of other sources of social differentiation. The limits and uses of a stratification model of modern society. Stratification and mobility. Industrial conflict: types and trends.

**Wilensky, H.L., "Class, Class Consciousness, and American Workers," in W. Haber, ed., *Labor in a Changing America*. Basic Books, 1966, pp. 12-44. Also IIR Reprint #283.

**Hibbs, D.A. Jr., "On the Political Economy of Long-Run Trends in Strike Activity," *British Journal of Political Science* 8 (1978), pp. 153-175.

Doeringer, P.B. et al., eds., *Industrial Relations in International Perspective*. Macmillan, 1981.

Crouch, C. and A. Pizzorno, eds., *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe Since 1968*, vol. 2, Comparative Analyses. N.Y.: Holmes & Meier, 1978.

*Giddens, A., *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*, Harper Torchbook edit., 1975, c. 1973; and Giddens & Held, eds., *Classes, Power, and Conflict*, University of California Press, 1982.

Bell, D., "The New Class: A Muddled Concept," in B. Bruce-Briggs, ed., *The New Class?* Transactions Press, 1979. Reprinted in Bell, *The Winding Passage*, Basic Books, 1980, pp. 144-164.

Parkin, F., *Class Inequality and Political Order: Social Stratification in Capitalist and Communist Societies*. Praeger, 1973.

Form, W., "Comparative Industrial Sociology and the Convergence Hypothesis," *Annual Review of Sociology* 5 (1979), pp. 1-25.

Aronowitz, S., *False Promises: The Shaping of the American Working Class*. McGraw-Hill, 1974, pp. 397-442.

Lipset, S.M. and R. Bendix, eds., *Class, Status and Power*. Free Press, 1966, 2nd edition.

Shostak and Gomberg, eds., *Blue Collar World*, parts I & III, esp. essays by Miller and Handel-Rainwater, pp. 459-484.

Wilensky, H.L., "Orderly Careers and Social Participation: The Impact of Work History on Social Integration in the Middle Mass," *American Sociological Review* 26 (August 1961), pp. 521-539.

1. Problems in comparative study of the incidence, sources, and effects of mobility. Variations in economic, political, and organizational contexts. Question for discussion: Are there any cross-national

uniformities in mobility patterns, mobility effects, mobility ideologies? Explain.

Smelser, N.J. and S.M. Lipset, eds., Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development (Aldine, 1966), esp. chapters by Smelser and Lipset, Duncan ("Methodological Issues"), **Wilensky ("Measures and Effects of Social Mobility"), Moore ("Changes in Occupational Structures"), Ramsøy ("Changes in Rates and Forms"), Sjoberg ("Rural-Urban Balance and Models of Economic Development"). **Wilensky chapter required. IIR Reprint #290.

*Cole, R.E., Work, Mobility, and Participation: A Comparative Study of American and Japanese Industry. University of California Press, 1979.

Stinchcombe, A.L., "Agricultural Enterprise and Rural Class Relations," American Journal of Sociology 67 (September 1961), pp. 165-176.

Davis, K., "The Role of Class Mobility in Economic Development," Population Review (July 1962), pp. 67-73.

C. Race, ethnicity, and religion vs. class vs. occupational group in sociological analysis. Minority groups in majority contexts: structural assimilation and cultural diversity? Ethnic resurgence?

**Glazer, N., "Blacks and Ethnic Groups: The Difference and the Political Difference It Makes," Social Problems 18 (Spring 1971), pp. 444-461.

**Wilensky, H.L. and A.T. Lawrence, "Job Assignment in Modern Societies: A Re-examination of the Ascription-Achievement Hypothesis," in Amos H. Hawley, ed., Societal Growth: Processes and Implications, Free Press-Macmillan, 1979, pp. 202-248. IIR Reprint #429.

Enloe, C.H., Ethnic Conflict and Political Development. Little, Brown, 1973.

Lipjhart, A., Conflict and Coexistence in Belgium: the Dynamics of a Culturally Divided Society. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, Research Series #46, 1981.

Lipjhart, A., The Politics of Accomodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands. Univ. of California Press, 2nd ed. rev., 1975 (c. 1968).

Lieberson, S., A Piece of the Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants Since 1880. University of California, 1980.

*Wilensky, H.L. and J. Ladinsky, "From Religious Community to Occupational Group: Structural Assimilation Among Professors, Lawyers, and Engineers," American Sociological Review 32 (August 1967), pp. 541-561. IIR Reprint #312.

Beattie, C., Minority Men in a Majority Setting: Francophones and Anglophones. McClellan and Stewart, 1974.

Myrdal, G., An American Dilemma, 2 vols, Harper and Row, 1944.

Shibutani, T. and K.M. Kwan, Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach. Macmillan, 1965.

Simpson, G.E. and J.M. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination. Harper & Row, 1972, 4th ed.

Sowell, T., ed., Essays and Data on American Ethnic Groups. Urban Institute, 1978.

1. The gains and costs of equality. Questions for discussion: "Is a system of labor allocation based solely on achievement, on in which there is full equality of opportunity, possible?" What would be the gains and costs of such a system for elites and for the rest of the population?

   *Young, M., The Rise of the Meritocracy, 1870-2033. Pelican Books A485, 1958. Skim.

2. Locality, Economy, and Minority Groups. Structural forces fostering minority sub-cultures with political potential.

   *Heisler, ed., Ethnic Conflict in the World Today. Vol. 433 of The Annals, 1977.

   Wilensky and Lawrence, "Job Assignment..." (above). Review pp. 245-248.

   Liebow, E. Tally's Corner. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1967, paperback #83. Skim.

   Suttles, G.D., The Social Order of the Slum: Ethnicity and Territory in the Inner City. Univ. of Chicago Press, #P363, 1968.

   Gans, H.J., The Urban Villagers. The Free Press, 1962.

   Gans, H.J., The Levittowners. N.Y.: Pantheon Books, 1967.

   Rainwater, L., "The Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower-Class Family," Daedalus 95 (Winter 1966), pp. 172-216.

D. Education-science-aesthetics-mass media-entertainment. Rise of "knowledge industries." What are the effects of a rise in the average level of education?

1. The interpenetration of high culture, mass culture, and folk culture. Culture and politics.

**Wilensky, H.L., "Mass Society and Mass Culture: Interdependence or Independence?" American Sociological Review 29 (April 1964), pp. 173-197. Also Bobbs-Merrill Reprint #S-650.

**Robinson, M.J., "Television and American Politics: 1956-1976," The Public Interest 48 (Summer 1977), pp. 3-39. See also APSR article (June 1976) cited therein.

Berelson, B. and M. Janowitz, eds., Reader in Public Opinion and Communication. The Free Press, 1966, 2nd ed.

Hoggart, R., The Uses of Literacy. Chatto and Windus, 1957. Beacon paperback, BP 120.

Gitlin, T., The Whole World is Watching. Univ. of Calif. Pbk 484, 1980.

Badakian, B.H., The Information Machines. Harper (TB 1900), 1971.

2. The "Credential Society." Higher education: "status and power protection" ("conflict theory") vs. "technical function" ("functional analysis")? From ascription to achievement?

**Wilensky, H.L. and A.T. Lawrence, "Job Assignment..." (above), pp. 220-248 (review).

Collins, R., The Credential Society: An Historical Sociology of Education and Stratification. Academic Press, 1979.

3. The managerial revolution. (See also IC, "post-industrial society," above.) Experts, professionals, and intellectuals. A "new class"? The intelligence function in complex organizations. The interplay of knowledge and power. Experts in domestic and foreign policy. National variations.

**Lindblom, ch. 23 ("Policy-Making and Planning").

**Wilensky, H.L., Organizational Intelligence: Knowledge and Policy in Government and Industry. Basic Books, 1967.

*Galbraith, J.K., The New Industrial State. New American Library, 1968, Signet paperback.

Westin, A.F., ed., Information Systems in a Democracy. Harvard Univ., 1970, pp. 55-58, 76-85, 93-98, 161-174, 207-213, 264-276, 291-321, 357-374, 395-408, 451-459.

Putnam, R.D., The Comparative Study of Political Elites. Prentice-Hall, 1976.

E. Economy. Four applications.

1. Occupational composition of the labor force. The distribution of wealth and income.

**Wilensky, H.L., "The Political Economy of Income Distribution: Issues in the Analysis of Government Approaches to the Reduction of Inequality," in J. Yinger and S.J. Cutler, eds., *Major Social Issues: A Multidisciplinary View*. The Free Press, 1978, pp. 87-108. IIR Reprint #425.

2. The technical and social organization of work. Participatory democracy and work reform. A threat to corporatist democracy? Is a leisure-oriented society emerging?

**Lindblom, chs. 21 and 24.

*Wilensky, H.L., "Work as a Social Problem," in H.S. Becker, ed., *Social Problems*. Wiley, 1966, pp. 117-166.

*Sabel, C.F., *Work and Politics*. Cambridge U. Press, 1982.

Berg, I., M. Freedman and M. Freeman, *Managers and Work Reform: A Limited Engagement*. The Free Press, 1978.

Comisso, E.T., *Workers' Control Under Plan and Market*. Yale U. Press, 1979. (Workers' participation in Yugoslavia.)

Tyson, L.D., *The Yugoslav System and its Performance in the 1970s*. UCB Inst. of International Studies, 1980. Compares econ. performance of countries at similar ec. level but different organization of political economy.

Cole, R.E., on work, mobility, and pariticipation in U.S. and Japan (IIIB1 above); and Wilensky, "Family Life Cycle, Work..." pp. 249-255 (on work alienation, workplaces, and participatory democracy, IIIA2 above).

3. The welfare state, equality, and war. Expansion of the public sector. Tax-welfare backlash. A fiscal crisis of the state?

**Wilensky, H.L., *The Welfare State and Equality: Structural and Ideological Roots of Public Expenditures*. Univ. of California Press, 1975, paperback #140.

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Titmuss, R.N., Essays on 'The Welfare State'. George Allena and Unwin, 1958.

Briggs, A., "The Welfare State in Historical Perspective," Archives of European Sociology II (1961), pp. 221-258.

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Reich, C., "The New Property," Yale Law Journal 73 (1964).

Offe, K., "Structural Problems of the Capitalist State," in K. von Beyme, ed., German Political Studies. Sage Publications, 1976.

[Review *O'Connor, Fiscal Crisis... (ID1 above) and **Wilensky, New Corporatism... (ID2 above).]

4. Labor racketeering: strictly American? Culture vs. economic organization.

F. Polity

1. Totalitarian vs. authoritarian vs. pluralist or democratic systems. Varieties of each. Their social origins and internal dynamics.

**Schumpeter, J.A., Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy, chs. 21-23 (review). Also review Lindblom, Politics and Markets, above, chs. 9-25.

*Wiles, P.J.D., The Political Economy of Communism. Oxford, 1962.

Friedrich, C.J. and Z.K. Brzezinski, Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy. Harvard U. Press, 2nd ed., 1965. Praeger paperback, 1966.

Moore, B., Terror and Progress USSR. Harvard U. Press, 1954.

Neumann, F., Behemoth. Oxford Univ. Press, 1942, 1st ed. On Nazi Germany.

Nolte, E., Threee Faces of Fascism. Holt, Rinehart pbk. 1965 (Germany, France, Italy).

Laqueur, W., ed., *Fascism: A Reader's Guide*. Univ. of Calif. Press, 1976.

Linz, J., "An Authoritarian Regime: Spain," in E. Allardt and S. Rokkan, eds., *Mass Politics*. Free Press, 1970.

or

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Collier, D., ed., *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. Princeton U. Press, 1979.

McDonough, P., *Power and Ideology in Brazil*. Princeton U. Press, 1981.

Lipset, S.M., *Political Man*. Johns Hopkins U. Press, enl. ed., 1981.

Dahl, R., ed., *Political Oppositions in Western Democracies*. Yale U. Press, 1966.

2. Comparative study of military elites and military institutions. Military organization and domestic politics. The role of the military in development of tax systems and the state. [**Wilensky, *WS&E*, ch. 4 review.]

   **Leiberson, S., "An Empirical Study of Military-Industrial Linkages," *American Journal of Sociology* 76 (January 1971), pp. 562-584.

   Janowitz, M., ed., *The New Military: Changing Patterns of Organization*. Science Editions-Wiley pbk., 1967.

   or

   Janowitz, M.d, *Military Conflict: Essays in the Institutional Analysis of War and Peace*. Sage Publications, 1971, pbk. ISBN 0-8039-0116-X.

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   Schultze, C.L., "Reexamining the Military Budget," *The Public Interest* 18 (Winter 1970), pp. 3-24.

Melman, S., Pentagon Capitalism. McGraw-Hill, 1970.

3. The institutionalization of reform movements.

*McCarthy, J.D. and M.N. Zald, "The Trend of Social Movements in America: Professionalization and Resource Mobilization." Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press, 1973.
or
Zald, M.N. and J. McCarthy, eds., The Dynamics of Social Movements: Resource Mobilization, Social Control, and Tactics. Winthrop, 1979.

Tarrow, W.S., Struggling to Reform: Social Movements and Policy Change During Cycles of Protest. Cornell Center for Int. Studies, n.d. (1983).

4. Political parties, democratic corporatism, and mass society. Do parties make a difference? Is party decline universal? Describe and explain variations in party strength among rich democracies. Variation in electoral cycles?

*Wilensky, H.L., "Leftism, Catholicism, and Democratic Corporatism: The Role of Political Parties in Recent Welfare State Development." In Flora, P. and A. Heidenheimer, eds., The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction books, 1981, pp. 345-382. IIR reprint #438.

Esping-Anderson, G., "Social Class, Social Democracy, and the State: Party Polivcy and Party Decomposition in Denmark and Sweden." Comparative Politics 11 (Oct. 1978).

*Fiorina, M.P., "The Decline of Collective Responsibility in American Politics," Daedalus 109 (Summer 1980), pp. 25-45.

DiPalma, G., Surviving Without Governing: the Italian Parties in Parliament. Univ. of Calif. Press, 1977.

Hibbs, D.A. Jr., "Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy," Am. Pol. Sci. Rev. 71 (Dec. 1977), pp. 1467-87.

Tufte, E.R., Political Control of the Economy. Princeton U. Press, 1978.

Epstein, L.D., Political Parties in Western Democracies. enl. edition, Transaction, 1980 (c. 1967).

V. EFFORTS AT SYNTHESIS, MODELS OF THE FUTURE. "Fiscal crises," "overloaded government," "(un)governability" of modern societies or modern democracies, and all that.

209A Bibliography/

**Lindblom, *Politics and Markets* (review), esp. ch. 12.

**Bell, "Notes on the Post-Industrial Society" (review).

**Lehmbruch and Schmitter, eds., *Patterns of Corporatist Policy-Making* (review).

**Wilensky, *New Corporatism...* and "Mass Society..." (review).

*Kornhauser, *Politics of Mass Society* (review).

*O'Connor, *Fiscal Crisis...* (review).

Rose, R. and G. Peters, *Can Governments Go Bankrupt?*. Basic Books, 1978.

T.N. Clark, 322 SS
University of Chicago
Spring, 1983

Sociology 225/328 Urban Structure and Decision Making
Public Policy 347 Urban Structure and Public Policy

I. Theoretical Perspectives on Urban Decision Making

*Robert A. Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956. Chs. 1-3.

*Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy. New York: Harper, 1957. Ch. 4.

*Terry Nichols Clark and Lorna C. Ferguson, "A Theory of Urban Fiscal Policy," draft MS.

II. The Institutional Setting of Urban Decision Making: Federal-State-Local Legal and Fiscal Structures

*Robert L. Lineberry and Ira Sharkansky, Urban Politics and Public Policy. New York: Harper & Row, 3rd. ed., 1978. Ch. 6, "Structures of Urban Governance."

Take a look at U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Governments, Vol. 1, Governmental Organization, and some recent reports of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, such as their Trends in Fiscal Federalism series, most recent year available.

III. Socio-Economic Characteristics of Cities

*Jay W. Forester, Urban Dynamics, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1969. pp. 1-106.

William Alonso, "Metropolis Without Growth," The Public Interest (Fall 1978): pp. 68-87.

IV. Urban Migration Patterns and Residential Choice: Who Moves and Why?

*Charles Tiebout, "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures," Journal of Political Economy 64 (October 1956): 416-24.

*John E. Jackson, ed., Public Needs and Private Behavior in Metropolitan Areas. Cambridge: Ballinger, 1975. pp. 31-98.

Martin T. Katzman, The Quality of Municipal Services, Central City Decline and Middle Class Flight, Research Report R78-1, Department of City and Regional Planning, Harvard, February 1978.

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* = especially important materials

Paper Topics T.N. Clark

1. Interview five citizens outside Hyde Park, in Chicago, or any other city, concerning issues treated in the course. Write your own questionnaire or adapt questions of others.

2. Go to two meetings or more of a public organization, Chicago City Council hearings, or a similar organization, on topics related to the course.

3. Assemble original data for two or more cities concerning 10 fiscal and 10 non-fiscal policy outputs. Discuss the results in terms of course materials.

4. Do five exercises from the SETUPS manual (Schumaker, Getter and Clark, on last page of reading list). Link the exercises to the readings.

5. Read in a specific area beyond the course, such as part of the Political Sociology section of the Sociology Ph.D.'s prelim list. Review and criticize the readings.

These topics are suggested in a rather narrow manner as exercises to lead you to think creatively and critically about the readings for the courses. They are conceived of as an extension of the readings and lectures in the course. They are not research topics as in a seminar; you are not expected to do significant original research, especially empirical work. The paper is designed to sharpen your critical acumen and demonstrate it through reinterpretation of the readings.

You should include at least two hypotheses that serve as competing explanations for the phenomenon you consider. Suggest how data could be collected and analyzed to address the hypotheses even if not currently available. See Hubert Blalock, Theory Construction or Arthur Stinchcombe, Constructing Social Theories (first chapters of both books) if you are not familiar with basic hypothesis formation and testing in the social sciences.

Maximum length: 10 double-spaced typed pages. Print neatly if you do not have access to a typewriter.

Deadline: seventh week of the quarter. Downgraded half a grade (e.g. from B to B-) if late.

* = especially recommended reading
(p) = available in paperback edition

T.N. Clark, 322 SS
University of Chicago
Spring 1984

Sociology 256/329
Public Policy 348
Urban Policy Analysis

I. Theories of Urban Policy Outputs

* Willis Hawley and Frederick M. Wirt, eds., *The Search for Community Power*, 2nd. edition, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1974, pp. 251-63. (p)

*Terry Nichols Clark, ed., *Urban Policy Analysis*, *Urban Affairs Annual Review*, Vol. 21. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981, chs. 1 and 2. (p)

II. The Basics of Municipal Finance: Revenues, Expenditures, Debt

*Terry Nichols Clark and Lorna Crowley Ferguson, *City Money*, New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1983, chs. 1-3, 8, 9. (p)

III. Populist Theory

*Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper, 1957, Chs. 7, 8, 13, 14. (p)

James M. Buchanan, "Principles of Urban Fiscal Strategy," *Public Choice*, XI (Fall 1971), pp. 1-25.

Paul D. Schumaker, "Citizen Preferences..." in Clark, *Urban Policy Analysis*, pp. 227-244.

IV. Do Citizens Have Policy Preferences? Concept and Measurement Strategies

*Philip E. Converse, "Public Opinion and Voting Behvior," in Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science*, Vol. 4, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1975, pp. 75-170.

T.N. Clark, "Can You Cut A Budget Pie?" *Policy and Politics*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (December 1974), pp. 3-32.

V. Political Culture and Leadership Styles

*James Q. Wilson and Edward C. Banfield, "Public Regardingness as a Premise in Voting Behavior," *American Political Science Review*, 58 (December 1964), pp. 876-887.

Daniel J. Elazar, "The American Cultural Matrix," in D.J. Elazar and J. Zikmund, eds., *The Ecology of American Political Culture*. New York: Cromwell, 1975, pp. 13-42. Scan papers here by others, esp. Patterson (p)

T.N. Clark, "The Irish Ethic and the Spirit of Patronage," *Ethnicity*, 2 (1975), pp. 305-359.

Milton Rakove, Don't Make No Waves...Don't Back No Losers: An Insider's Analysis of the Daley Machine. Bloomington, IN: Indiana Univ. Press, Chap. 1. (p)

David Knoke,"Urban Political Cultures," in Clark, Urban Policy Analysis, pp. 203-226.

VI. Elites and Organized Groups: Centralization and Resource Allocation

James S. Coleman, Community Conflict, New York: Free Press, 1957, 27 pp. (p)

*Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1961, chs. 1, 8, 19, 24, 27, 28. (p)

Edward C. Banfield, Political Influence. New York: Free Press, 1961. Ch. 8. (p)

*Mancur Olson, Jr., The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1965. Chs. 1, 6. (p)

VII. The Dynamic Political Leader

*Norman Frohlich, Joe A. Oppenheimer, Oran R. Young, Political Leadership and Collective Goods. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1971, pp. 3-44, 138-142.

Dahl, Who Governs?, chs. 9, 10 on New Haven.

Ivan Allen, Jr., Mayor: Notes on the Sixties, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971, passim, esp. pp. 19-64 on Atlanta.

Charles H. Levine, Racial Conflict and the American Mayor. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath-Lexington, 1974, esp. ch. 5 on Gary and Hatcher.

Rakove, Don't Make No Waves..., chs. 2 & 3 on Daley.

VIII. Contrasting Decision Making Processes for Various Policy Outputs

Terry Nichols Clark and Lorna Crowley Ferguson, City Money, New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1983, chs. 4-7, 10.

Paul E. Peterson, City Limits, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, ch. 2 (p).

IX. Municipal Employees: Rote Incrementalists or Aggressive Innovators?

Arnold J. Meltsner, The Politics of City Revenue. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1971, esp. 1-85, 186-247. (p)

*John P. Crecine, Governmental Problem Solving: A Computer Simulation of Municipal Budgeting. Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1969, esp. pp. 1-99.

Allan R. Drebin, "Decisions and Information Needs of...Employees," in Allan Drebin, James L. Chan, Lorna C. Ferguson, Objectives of Accounting and Financial Reporting for Governmental Units, Vol. 2. Chicago: National Council on Governmental Accounting, 1981, pp. 9-3 to 9-15. (p)

X. Service Delivery and Productivity

*Robert L. Lineberry, Equality and Urban Policy: The Distributions of Municipal Public Services.. Beverly Hills and London: Sage, 1977, last chapter. (p)

Peter H. Rossi, Richard Berk, Bettye Eidson, The Roots of Urban Discontent. New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1974, esp. chs. on social workers and police.

Harry P. Hatry, "Measuring the Quality of Public Services," in Willis D. Hawley and David Rogers, eds., Improving the Quality of Urban Management, Vol. 8, Urban Affairs Annual Reviews, Beverly Hills and London: Sage, 1974, pp. 39-64.

Roger B. Parks and Elinor Ostrom, "Complex Models of Urban Service Systems," in Clark, Urban Policy Analysis, pp. 171-200.

* * *

Background Work for Exercises: Paul David Schumaker, Russell W. Getter, - and Terry Nichols Clark, Policy Responsiveness and Fiscal Strain in 51 American Communities, SETUPS published by Americal Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1979.

The ten sections of the course will be discussed in approximately the ten weeks of the quarter.

Reference for basics on American local government: Robert Lineberry and Ira Sharkansky, Urban Politics and Public Policy, 3rd. ed. New York: Harper and Row, 1978. (p)

For basic statistics: Hubert Blalock, Social Statistics, 2nd ed., esp. chapter on multiple regression.

Indiana University
Sociology S311

Fall, 1979
Pope

COMPARATIVE SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS: THE MODERN STATE

I. INTRODUCTION

Seymour M. Lipset. "Political sociology." Richard G. Braungart (ed.), Society and Politics: Readings in Political Sociology. 1976, 41-60. (Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., eds. Sociology Today. 1959, 81-114)

II. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

A. Marx

Karl Marx. "Estranged labour," Robert C. Tucker (ed.), The Marx-Engles Reader, 1978 (2nd ed.), 70-81.
Marx. "Alienation and social classes." 133-5.
Marx and Friedrich Engels. "Manifesto of the Communist Party." 469-70, 473-91, 499-500.

Marx. "Economics and politics in the labor movement." 520.

Marx. "The possibility of non-violent revolution." 523.

Marx. "'Preface' to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," 4-5.

Marx. "Class struggle and modes of production." 220.

Marx. Capital. 295-303, 306-7; 319-329; 336-43; 367-9; 373-6; 390-2; 397-419; 431-41.

Marx. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, 603-17.

B. Weber

1. Dimensions of hierarchical power

Max Weber. "The distribution of power within the political community: class, status, party." Braungart. 349-61. (Economy and Society, V. 2, 1968, 926-38).

2. Legitimate domination

Max Weber. "The three types of legitimate rule." Marcello Truzzi (ed.), Sociology: The Classic Statements, 1971, 170-79.

C. Lenski

Gerhard Lenski. "The Dynamics of Distributive Systems," Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification, 1966, 43-72.

III. The Modern State

A. Modern Industrial Society: Overview

Gerhard Lenski. "Industrial Societies: Part I.' Power and Privilege, 1966, 297-345.

B. The Welfare State

1. Development of Citizenship Rights and the Welfare State

T. H. Marshall, "Citizenship and social class." Class, Citizenship, and Social Development. 1965, 78-106, 120.

2. Contemporary Welfare State

Norman Furniss and Timothy Tilton. The Case for the Welfare State, 1977.

Kirsten A. Gronbjerg. Mass Society and Extension of Welfare 1960-1970, 1977.

Walter Korpi. The Working Class in Welfare Capitalism, 1978.

Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward. Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare, 1971.

C. Economy, Polity, and Society

Charles E. Lindblom. Politics and Markets: The World's Political-Economic Systems, 1977.

Andrew Martin. "Is democratic control of capitalist economies possible?" Leon N. Lindberg et al. (eds.), Stress and Contradiction in Modern Capitalism: Public Policy and the Theory of the State, 1975, 13-56.

Arthur Selwyn Miller. The Modern Corporate State: Private Governments and the American Constitution, 1977.

D. Collective Action and Protest Movements

1. Overview

Charles Tilly. From Mobilization to Revolution, 1978.

2. Lower-class protest movements in the United States

Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward. Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail, 1979.

E. Marxist Analysis of the Modern State

1. Overview

Alan Wolfe. "New directions in the Marxist theory of politics." Politics and Society 4 (2: 1974): 131-59.

David Gold, Clarence Y. H. Lo, and Erik Olin Wright. "Recent developments in Marxist theories of the capitalist state." Parts 1 and 2. Monthly Review 27 (5: October 1975) and 27 (6: November 1975): 29-43, 36-51.

2. The Welfare State

Claus Offe. "Advanced capitalism and the welfare state." Politics and Society, 2 (4: Summer 1972): 479-88.

Joachim Israel. "The welfare state--a manifestation of late capitalism." Acta Sociologica 17 (4): 310-29.

3. The State

a. Analysis

Ralph Miliband. The State in Capitalist Society, 1969.

b. Debate

Nicol Poulantzas. "The problem of the capitalist state." John Urry and John Wakeford (eds.), Power in Britain: Sociological Readings. 1973. 291-305. (Robin Blackburn (ed.), Ideology in Social Sciences, 1973, 238-53).

Ralph Miliband. "The capitalist state: reply to Nicol Poulantzas." Urry and Wakeford. 306-14. (Blackburn, 253-62).

4. The Ruling Class

Goran Therborn. What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?, 1978.

Fred Block. "The ruling class does not rule." Richard Quinney (ed.), Capitalist Society: Readings for a Critical Sociology, 1979, 128-52. (Socialist Revolution. No. 33 (Vol. 7, No. 3: May-June 1977):6-28.

5. Final Statement

Erik Olin Wright. Class, Crisis and the State, 1978.

Alan Wolfe. The Limits of Legitimacy: Political Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism, 1977.

IV. CONCLUSION/REVIEW

Notes: List subject to change.
Page assignments for books to be announced

SOCIOLOGY 924

SEMINAR ON THE THEORY OF THE STATE

Fall Semster, 1983

Professor Erik Olin Wright
Department of Sociology
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

This seminar is designed to provide a rigorous exposure to the central problems and issues in the debates on the state within contemporary Marxist theory. Although the theoretical focus of the seminar will be on Marxist debates, there is no presumption that participants in the seminar have any commitment to a Marxist analysis. Indeed, it is hoped that the discussions in the seminar will reflect a range of perspectives and that fruitful dialogue between Marxist and other points of view can be established.

The first half of the seminar will revolve around the problem of the crisis of the democratic welfare state in contemporary advanced capitalist societies. Both the "democratic" and the "welfare" aspects of these states are currently experiencing considerable crises and transformations, and it will be the objective of the first part of the seminar to try to understand the underlying nature, causes and consequences of such tendencies. The second half of the seminar will deal with more abstract theoretical and methodological problems in analysing the state. We will examine at least some of the major alternative strategies pursued in Marxist analyses and try to assess their relative merits and limitations.

ASSUMED BACKGROUND

This is an advanced graduate seminar. As a result, it is important that participants have a fairly broad background in order to participate effectively in the discussion. This does not mean that it is necessary to have read deeply on the theory of the state as such, but it does mean that participants should have a good foundation in contemporary Marxist theory (the equivalent of Sociology 621-622) and at least some background in political sociology.

REQUIREMENTS

There are three basic requirements for the seminar: (1) a seminar presentation, (2) a short book review, (3) a term paper.

1. Seminar Presentations

Each student is required to give at least one short seminar presentation. These presentations should NOT be extended summaries of the readings. Rather, they should be attempts at defining one or two (not four or five) key questions for the discussion. A "question" in this context means penetrating the readings to find what is most problematic in the texts, what is most contentious and in need of discussion. The presentations need not involve an answer to the

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question, although it may be fruitful to briefly outline some of the alternatives. The group of students involved in a particular week's presentation should meet on Monday or Tuesday before the seminar to discuss the issues and agree upon the questions to be raised. I would like to meet briefly with the presenting group on either Tuesday or Wednesday to go over the presentation and make suggestions.

2. Book Review

Each student is required to write a review essay on one historical study on the state. I recommend one of the following books, but an alternative can be substituted after consultation:

Stephen Skowroneck, Building a New American State: the expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920 (Cambridge University Press, 1982)

Nora Hamilton, The Limits of State Autonomy: post-revolutionary Mexico (Princeton University Press, 1982)

Roger Friedland, Power and Crisis in the City: Corporations, Unions and Urban Policy (London: McMillan, 1982)

David Abraham, The Collapse of the Weimar Republic (Princeton University Press, 1981)

Perry Anderson, Lineages of the Absolutist State (London: New Left Books, 1976)

Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions (Cambridge U. Press, 1978)

Ira Katnelson, Urban Trenches: urban politics and the patterning of class in the United States, (University of Chicago Press, 1981).

These reviews are NOT meant to be summaries of the book, but rather a critical assesment and exposition of some core theme of the work. An example of such a review is Erik Olin Wright, "Is Marxism Really Functionalist, Teleological and Class Reductionist?" (a review of Giddens A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism) in the American Journal of Sociology, Sept. 1983. These book reviews should be a maximum of ten doubled-spaced pages long.

DUE DATE FOR BOOK REVIEWS: in class, November 3.

3. Term paper/project

All participants are expected to write a term paper on the state and politics. Students are encouraged if they so desire to work on papers jointly. My strong preference is for papers to revolve around some historical or contemporary substantive problem -- a particular state policy, a particular example of state transformations, a case of a

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particular struggle over the state, etc. -- and try to bring to bear the theoretical issues we have dealt with in the seminar to understand that specific case. A Warning: The least satisfactory papers I have had from previous seminars have attempted to deal broadly with "The Theory of the State", trying to synthesize too much, too abstractly, and often too pretentiously. In general, therefore, while I want papers to be theoretical, I think that such theorizing should be linked to some more concrete substantive problem or puzzle.

I want to discuss each term paper with the student(s) involved by the middle of the semester. If a paper has not been formulated by mid-semester it is very unlikely that it will be completed by the end of the semester. All students should submit a one or two page statement about the topic of their term paper to me no later than October 13 (seventh week of the term). The final term papers are due by the first day of exams, December 14. Late papers will not be accepted.

DATES TO REMEBER: Thur. Oct. 13: Seminar paper proposal due
Thur. Nov. 3: Book reviews due
Tues. Dec. 13: Term papers due

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PRINCIPLES FOR SEMINAR DISCUSSIONS:

The following guidelines are intended to facilitate seminar discussions. Some of them may sound obvious, but from past experience it is still important to make them explicit.

1. **READINGS.** At least for the first part of each seminar the discussions should revolve around the weeks readings rather than simply the topic. There is a strong tendency in seminars, particularly among articulate graduate students, to turn every seminar into a general "bull session" in which participation need not be informed by the reading material in the course. The injunction to discuss the readings does not mean, of course, that other material is excluded from the discussion, but it does mean that the issues raised and problems analysed should focus on around the actual texts assigned for the week.

2. **LISTEN.** In a good seminar, interventions by different participants are linked one to another. A given point is followed up and the discussion therefore has some continuity. In many seminar discussions, however, each intervention is unconnected to what has been said before. Participants are more concerned with figuring out what brilliant comment they can make rather than listening to each other and reflecting on what is actually being said. In general, therefore, participants should add to what has just been said rather than launch a new train of thought, unless a particular line of discussion has reached some sort of closure.

3. **TYPES ON INTERVENTIONS.** Not every seminar intervention has to be an earth-shattering comment or brilliant insight. One of the reasons why some students feel intimidated in seminars is that it seems that the stakes are so high, that the only legitimate comment is one that reveals complete mastery of the material. There are several general rules about comments that should facilitate broader participation:

   a. No intervention should be regarded as "naive" or "stupid" as long as it reflects an attempt at seriously engaging the material. It is often the case that what seems at first glance to be a simple or superficial question turns out to be among the most intractable.

   b. It is as appropriate to ask for clarification of readings or previous comments as it is to make a substantive point on the subject matter.

   c. If the pace of the seminar discussion seems too fast to get a word in edgewise it is legitimate to ask for a brief pause to slow things down. It is fine for there actually to be moments of silence in a discussion!

4. **BREVITY.** Everyone has been in seminars in which someone

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consistently gives long, overblown speeches. Sometimes these speeches may make some substantively interesting points, but frequently they meander without focus or direction. It is important to keep interventions short and to the point. One can always add elaborations if they are needed. This is not an absolute prohibition on long statements, but it does suggest that longer statements are generally too long.

5. **EQUITY**. While acknowledging that different personalities and different prior exposures to the material will necessarily lead to different levels of active participation in the seminar discussion, it should be our collective self-conscious goal to have as equitable participation as possible. This means that the chair of the discussion has the right to curtail the speeches by people who have dominated the discussion, if this seems necessary.

6. **SPONTANEITY vs. ORDER**. One of the traps of trying to have guidelines, rules, etc. in a discussion is that it can squelch the spontaneous flow of debate and interchange in a seminar. Sustained debate, sharpening of differences, etc., is desirable and it is important that the chair not prevent such debate from developing.

7. **ARGUMENTS, COMPETITIVENESS, CONSENSUS**. A perennial problem in seminars revolves around styles of discussion. Feminists have often criticized discussions dominated by radical men as being aggressive, argumentative, competitive. Men, on the other hand, have at times been critical of what they see as the "feminist" model of discussion: searching for consensus and common positions rather highlighting differences, too much emphasis on process and not enough on content, and so on. Whether or not one regards such differences in approaches to discussion as gender-based, the differences are real and they cause problems in seminars. My own view is the following: I think that it is important in seminar discussions to try to sharpen differences, to understand where the real disagreements lie, and to accomplish this is it generally necessary that participants "argue" with each other, in the sense of voicing disagreements and not always seeking consensus. On the other hand, there is no reason why argument, even heated argument, need by marked by aggressiveness, competitiveness, put-downs and the other tricks in the repertoire of male verbal domination. What I hope we can pursue is "cooperative conflict": theoretical advance comes out of conflict, but hopefully our conflicts can avoid being antagonistic.

8.**CHAIRING DISCUSSIONS**. In order for the discussions to have the kind of continuity, equity and dynamics mentioned above, it is necessary that the discussion be lead by a "strong chair." That is, the chair has to have the capacity to tell someone to hold off on a point if it seems unrelated to what is being discussed, to tell someone to cut a comment short if an intervention is rambling on and on, and so on. The difficulty, of course, is that such a chair may become heavy-handed and authoritarian, and therefore it is important that seminar participants take responsibility of letting the chair know when too much monitoring is going on.

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9. PREPARATION FOR SEMINAR DISCUSSIONS. Good seminars depend to a great extent on the seriousness of preparation by students. The following generally helps:

a. Always come to the seminar discussion with at least two questions written down. These need not be grandiose questions on profound points. It is fine for them to deal with issues of clarification, meaning, interpretation, etc. They can be simple statements of what you don't understand. The point is to have some idea of something you would like to learn from discussion before entering the discussion.

b. Whenever possible, write down your general reactions to the readings. It is generally more useful to write short critical "think pieces" about the reading than to simply record summarizing notes. But in any case, it is important to write something about what you've read rather than just to read.

c. Try to meet with at least one other student to discuss the weeks reading prior to the seminar session. Lunch on Thursday is a good time if it is available.

d. Above all: Do the reading carefully.

10. DISCUSSION FORMAT. In spite of these guidelines and good intentions, if the size of the seminar is too large it may simply prove impossible to have a satisfactory discussion with everyone at the same time. As a result, we may break down the full seminar into three or four smaller groups of 6-8 people for an hour or so during a seminar session in order to facilitate more equal discussion.

11. SELF-CRITICISM. The success of a seminar is a collective responsibility of all participants. Professors cannot waive magic wands to promote intellectually productive settings. It is essential, therefore, that we treat the process of the seminar itself as something under our collective control, as something which can be challenged and transformed. Issues of competitiveness, male domination, elitism, bullshit, diffuseness, and other sins should be dealt with through open discussion. We will therefore have periodic self-criticism discussions (not "trash the professor" sessions, but self-evaluation discussions, hopefully) to try to improve the process of the seminar itself.

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SCHEDULE OF COURSE TOPICS, SOCIOLOGY 924, FALL 1983

Sept. 1	1. Introduction: posing the agenda of problems.

PART I.
THE CONTEMPORARY CRISIS OF THE STATE IN ADVANCED CAPITALIST SOCIETIES

Sept. 8	2. Democracy and Capitalism
Sept. 15	3. What is Reformism?
Sept. 22	4. Explanations of the Expansion of the Welfare State
Sept. 29	5. Crisis of the Democratic Capitalist State I: legitimation and accumulation
Oct. 6	6. Crisis of the Democratic Capitalist State II: form and function
Oct. 13	7. Resolutions of the Crisis: new forms of representation and intervention
Oct. 20	8. Capitalist Democracy and the Transition to Socialism

PART II. GENERAL THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE STATE

Oct. 27	9. Structuralist approaches to the state I
Nov. 3	10. Structuralist approaches to the state II
Nov. 10	11. What Makes the Capitalist State a Capitalist State?
Nov. 17	12. State Interests, State Capacities, State Managers
Nov. 22*	13. Political Class Struggle

[*Because Thanksgiving falls on Thursday, November 22, this weeks seminar session will be held on Tuesday, November 22 at the regular seminar time. Room to be announced].

PART III. ADDITIONAL TOPICS

Dec. 1	14. Optional Topic I (select from list below)
Dec. 8	15. Optional Topic II (select from list below)

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OPTIONAL AND SUPPLEMENTARY SEMINAR TOPICS

A. General Theoretical Issues

1. What is "Politics"? What is "The State"?

2. Alternative Conceptualizations of "power"

3. Critical Theory approaches to the State: Habermas

4. The State as a "condition of existence" of capital: the work of Post-Althusserian British Marxism

5. Capital Logic and State Derivation Theory

6. Microfoundations for the Marxist theory of the state: the use of "rational choice" models in understanding the state and politics

7. Gramsci and the State

B. Additional Substantive Topics

8. The State and Women

9. The State in the Third World

10. The State and Racism

11. The State and the Labor Process

12. The State and the Internationalization of Capital

13. The State and the Inter-State system

14. The State in the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism

15. Historical Studies of State formation

16. Power Structure Research

17. Quantitative studies of the State

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READINGS AND TOPICS FOR THEORY OF THE STATE SEMINAR, SOC.924

FALL, 1983

BACKGROUND READING FOR SEMINAR

The seminar does assume a general familiarity with Marxist thinking about the state, although it does not assume that participants will have studied the Marxist tradition systematically or deeply. The following readings might be helpful to provide some general background.

A. CLASSICS IN THE MARXIST TRADITION

Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte

_____, The Civil War in France

Engels, The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State

Lenin, The State and Revolution

B. GENERAL REVIEWS OF RECENT DISCUSSIONS ON THE STATE

Bob Jessop, The Capitalist State: Marxist Theories and Methods (New York University Press: 1982)

[1]* David Gold, Clarence Lo and Erik Olin Wright, "Recent developments in Marxist Theories of the State," Monthly Review, October and November, 1975.

[2] Bob Jessop, "Recent Theories of the Capitalist State", Cambridge Journal of Economics, 1:4, 1977, pp.353-373.

[3] Fred Block, "The Ruling Class Does Not Rule," Socialist Review No.33, 1977.

C. GENERAL OVERVIEWS OF TRADITIONAL MARXIST VIEWS OF THE STATE

Ralph Miliband, Marxism and Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

Albert Szymanski, The Capitalist State and the Politics of Class, (Winthrop, 1978)

*The numbers is square brackets refer to items available in the xerox reader for the course.

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Week 1. Introduction: Posing the Agenda for the Seminar.

In many ways the central problem in any theoretical endeavor is to figure out what are the critical questions. An unsatisfactory posing of questions can lead to endless fruitless debate regardless of the conceptual sophistication of the protagonists. The purpose of this initial seminar session will be to explore a range of salient questions that will help to guide the overall agenda of the seminar.

Among other possible questions, the following clusters seem particularly important:

(1). In what ways and to what extent does the institutional form of the state in capitalist societies (a) constitute a systematic impediment to socialism; (b) create opportunities for the radical transformation of capitalism?

(2). Does the state in capitalist societies have a distinctively capitalist form or is it simply constrained or influenced externally by its existence within capitalism?

(3). How should we conceptualize the specificities of the variations in the form of the state in capitalist societies? What are the salient dimensions of these variations? What defines the specificity of the "welfare state", the "laissez faire" state, the "interventionist" state?

(4). How should we explain the variability in forms of the capitalist state? Are these to be explained primarily by the changing functional requirements of capital accumulation? By the instrumental interests of the capitalist class? By class struggle? Or what?

CORE READING:

Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, On Democracy (Penguin, 1983)

PART I. THE CONTEMPORARY CRISIS OF THE STATE IN ADVANCED CAPITALISM

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the recent revitalization of Marxist theorizing on the state was in its early stages, the general consensus among Marxists was that the welfare state fundamentally functioned to reproduce and strengthen bourgeois domination. While there was considerable disagreement over what was the most salient function of the welfare state (coopting the working class, fragmenting subordinate classes, subsidizing the costs of reproducing capital, etc.) and an equal amount of debate over how to conceptualize the mechanisms for accomplishing these functions (instrumental manipulation by capitalists, structural determinations by the mode of production, derivation from the logic of capital, etc.), there was little disagreement over the status of the welfare state as essentially reproductive of capitalist rule.

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Ten years later the welfare state is under considerable attack throughout the capitalist world, and many of the former critics of those institutions find themselves defending the various apparatuses and programs of the welfare state. This quite dramatic transformation of the political context for theoretical work on the state has helped stimulate new views on the nature of the welfare state, the logic of bourgeois democracy and the relationship of classes to the state. This first part of the course will revolve around the problem of the democratic welfare state in contemporary capitalist societies. The basic objective will be to try to understand the central contradictions implicated in the current crisis of the state in order to assess what the outcomes of this crisis are likely to be and what implications this has for the political strategies on the left.

Week 2. Democracy and Capitalism

Marx, in a famous passage from Class Struggles in France portrayed the linkage of democracy and capitalism as an intensely contradictory couplet:

> The comprehensive contradiction of this constitution, however, consists in the following: the classes whose social slavery the constitution is to perpetuate, proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, it puts into the possession of political power through universal suffrage. And from the class whose old social power it sanctions, the bourgeoisie, it withdraws the political guarantees of this power. It forces the political rule of the bourgeoisie into democratic conditions, which at every moment help the hostile classes to victory and jeopardise the very foundations of bourgeois society. (Marx/Engels, Selected Works in Three Volumes, vol.I, Moscow, pp.235-6)

Lenin, writing some sixty years later in The State and Revolution, claimed that parliamentary democracy was the "best possible shell" for the perpetuation of bourgeois rule. Can these two positions be reconciled? Do they reflect distinct theoretical stances towards the problem of "bourgeois democracy" or do they simply reflect the changing conditions of bourgeois rule from the mid-19th century to the twentieth century?

These issues are hardly simply questions of textual interpretation: the debate over the class character of parliamentary democracy remains at the very heart of both theoretical and political debates over the state on the left today. Can the state be "used" by different classes in the pursuit of their class interests, or does the state have a monolithic class character? Does the parliamentary form of the capitalist state contain within itself contradictory principles? Particularly since the "problem of democracy" has become such a central political concern given the history of "actually existing socialist" states, the answers to such questions are of fundamental importance.

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BACKGROUND READINGS:

Karl Marx, Class Struggles in France

V.I. Lenin, The State and Revolution

CORE READINGS:

Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, On Democracy (Penguin, 1983), chapter 3, "Structure"; chapter 6, "Democracy"

[4] Bob Jessop, "The Political Indeterminacy of Democracy", in Alan Hunt (ed) Marxism and Democracy, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980), pp. 55-80.

Erik Olin Wright, Class, Crisis and the State, (London: NLB, 1978), chapter 4. "Bureaucracy and the State"

[5] Martin Carnoy, "The State, Democracy and the Transition to Socialism", chapter VI in The State (unpublished manuscript, 1982)

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[6] Barry Hindess, "Marxism and Parliamentary Democracy" in Hunt, op.cit., pp.21-54

[7] Bob Jessop, "Capitalism and Democracy: the Best Possible Shell?", in Littlejohn, et. al. (eds) Power and the State (London: Croom Helm, 1978).

[8] Goran Therborn, "The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy", New Left Review #103, May-June 1977.

[9] Norberto Bobbio, "Are there Alternatives to Representative Democracy?", Telos, #35, 1978.

[10] Perry Anderson, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci", New Left Review #100, 1977.

[11] Alan Wolfe, The Limits of Legitimacy, (New York: The Free Press, 1977), Introduction: "The Predicament of Liberal Democracy", pp.1-11.

OTHER READINGS:

Barry Hindess, "Democracy and the Limitations of Parliamentary Democracy in Britain," Politics & Power, #1 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980).

Bob Jessop, "Parliamentary Democracy: the limitations of Hindess", Politics & Power #2, 1980.

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Barrington Moore, Jr. The Social ORIGINS of Dictatorship and Democracy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966).

Andrew Levine, Liberal Democracy: a critique of its theory (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981)

Week 3. What is Reformism?

How should reformism be understood? Are reforms fundamentally responses to the functional requirements of reproducing the rule of the capitalist class? Should reforms be viewed as the results of class struggle, sometimes benefiting the bourgeoisie, sometimes the working class? Are reforms necessarily "illusions", or can they be genuine victories?

CORE READINGS:

John Stephens, The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism (London: McMillan, 1979), chapter 3. "Revolution and Reform"

[12] Adam Przeworski, "Material Interests, Class Compromise and the Transition to Socialism", Politics & Society, 10:2, 1980

[13] Joachim Hirsch, "The State Apparatus and Social Reproduction: elements of a theory of the bourgeois state", in John Holloway and Sol Picciotto (eds) State and Capital: a Marxist Debate (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1978)

[14] Paul Sweezy, The Theory of Capitalist Development, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1942), chapter XIII. "The State"

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[15] Adam Przeworski, "The Material Bases of Consent: Economics and Politics in a Hegemonic System," in Maurice Zeitlin (ed), Political Power and Social Theory, vol. I (JAI Press, 1979)

[16] Adam Przeworski and Michael Wallerstein, "The Structure of Class Conflict in Advanced Capitalist Societies," American Political Science Review, vol.76, 1982.

[17] David Yaffe, "The Marxian Theory of Crisis, Capital and the State", Economy and Society, vol.2, 1973

[18] Ben Fine and Laurence Harris, Rereading Capital (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), chapter 5, "The Capitalist State" and chapter 8, "State Monopoly

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Capitalism".pp.93-103, 120-145.

Week 4. The Welfare State: What is it and Why has it grown?

One of the universal trends in advanced capitalist societies noted by virtually all commentors on the state has been the expansion of the state. "Expansion", however, is a vague term and conveys little of the conceptual specificity of the contemporary form of the advanced capitalist state. In this session we will examine this problem: what is the "welfare" state? What defines it as distinctive? How is it related to state "intervention", state "regulation" and other terms often used to describe the tendencies in the capitalist state? What explains the growth of the state in general and the welfare state in particular? Answering these questions will be important in order to deal with the problem of the crisis of the state in subsequent weeks.

BACKGROUND READINGS:

Ian Gough, The Political Economy of the Welfare State (London: McMillan, 1979), pp.1-38

James O'Connor, The Fiscal Crisis of the State (New York: St.Martin's Press, 1973), pp.1-40

CORE READINGS:

Ian Gough, The Political Economy of the Welfare State, pp.39-101

John Stephens, The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism, chapter 5. Labor Organization and the Welfare State. (chapter 4 is recommended, but optional).

[19] Michael Shalev, "The Social Democratic Model and Beyond: Two generations of comparative research on the welfare state" Comparative Social Research, vol. 6 (forthcoming)

[20] Theda Skocpol and John Ikenberry, "The Political Formation of the American Welfare State in Historical and Comparative Perspective", Comparative Social Research, vol. 6 (1982).

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[21] Alexander Hicks and Duane Swank, "The Political Economy of Welfare Expansion: class conflict, class reources and capital accumulation in advanced industrial democracies, 1960-1971" paper presented at the 1982 Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

[22] David Cameron, "The Expansion of the Public Economy: a

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comparative analysis", *APSR*, 72:4, 1978

Walter Korpi, *The Working Class in Welfare Capitalism*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978)

[23] Goran Therborn, et. al."Sweden Before and After Social Democracy: a first overview", *Acta Sociologica* 21 (supplement), 1978

OTHER READINGS:

Harold Wilensky, *The Welfare State and Equality* (University of California Press , 1975)

Peter Flora and A.J. Heidenheimer (eds). *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America* (New Brunswick: Transaction books, 1981).

Richard Scase, *Social Democracy in Capitalist Society* (London: Croom Helm, 1977)

Andrew Martin, *The Politics of Economic Policy in the United States: a tentative view from a comparative perspective* (Sage, 1973)

J.A. Fry, *The Limits of the Welfare State: critical views on post-war Sweden*, (Farnborough, England: Saxon House, 1979)

Week 5. The Crisis of the Democratic Capitalist State I: Legitimation and and Accumulation

Perhaps the most common general explanation for the current crisis of the welfare state found in Marxist discussions is that the crisis reflects a deep contradiction between the *legitimation* and *accumulation* functions of the state. In this line of thought, the welfare activities of the state expanded largely out of the need for the capitalist state to create legitimacy (either for itself or for capitalism) among subordinate groups/classes. This expansion was possible so long as such policies did not conflict with the requirements of capital accumulation. Eventually, however, the expansion of welfare spending began to undermine accumulation itself for various reasons -- it was a drain on surplus value because it was unproductive; it reduced the effectiveness of the reserve army of labor and thus resulted in a lowering of the rate of exploitation; it directly raised the value of labor power by transfering income to the working class (raising the "social wage"). The result, then, is a particular kind of economic crisis -- "stagflation" -- combined with a particular kind of political crisis -- initially a fiscal crisis of the state, followed by a concerted assault on welfare state programs. In this session we will examine a number of versions of the legitimation/accumulation contradiction thesis.

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BACKGROUND READINGS:

Erik Olin Wright, *Class, Crisis and the State*, chapter 3, "Historical Transformations of Capitalist Crisis Tendencies"

CORE READINGS:

Ian Gough, *The Political Economy of the Welfare State*, chapter 6. "The Welfare State and the Capitalist Economy" and chapter 7. "The Welfare State and the Crisis", pp.102-152

James O'Connor, *The Fiscal Crisis of the State* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), pp.5-12, 40-64, 97-178, 221-260

[24] Sam Bowles and Herb Gintis, "The Crisis of Capital and the Crisis of Liberal Democracy: the case of the United States", *Politics & Society*, vol.11:1,1982, pp. 51-94.

[25] Alan Wolfe, "The Legitimation Crisis of the State", chapter 10 in *The Limits of Legitimacy* (New York: Basic Books, 1977)

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Alan Wolfe, *The Limits of Legitimacy*, pp.214-321

[26] Claus Offe, "Competitive Party Democracy and the Keynesian Welfare State", *Policy Sciences*, 15, 1983, pp.225-246.

[27] Sam Bowles, "Have Capitalism and Democracy come to a Parting of the Ways?" in U.R.P.E., *Capitalism in Crisis* (URPE, 1978)

[28] Franco Ferraresi, "The Institutional Transformation of the post-laissez faire state" (unpublished mss. 1981)

OTHER READINGS:

Jurgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis* (Boston: Beacon, 1975)

Week 6. Crisis of the Democratic Capitalist State II: form and function

While the central theme of most analyses of the current crisis of the state is some sort of version of the legitimation/accumulation contradiction, there is a second line of thought that has emerged which focuses more on the internal organization of state apparatuses -- what Therborn calls their "administrative technologies" -- and the tasks required of those apparatuses. In this case, instead of their

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being a contradiction *between two functions* of the state, there is a contradiction *between its form and its functions*. The implication of this perspective is that the resolution of the crisis requires more than just a change of state *policies* -- elimination or reduction of programs, changes in emphases among types of state spending, etc. -- but a *structural reorganization* of the apparatuses as well.

CORE READINGS:

[29] Claus Offe, "The Capitalist State and the Problem of Policy Formation", in Leon Lindberg (ed), *Stress and Contradiction in Contemporary Capitalism* (D.C. Heath, 1975)

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[30] Stephan Leibfried, "The Bureaucracy of the 'Statist Reserve': the case of the U.S.A." Western Societies Program Occasional Paper No. 12 (Center for International Studies, Cornell University, 1979)

[31] Stephen Skorownek, "National Railroad Regulation and the Problem of State Building: interests and institutions in late nineteenth century America", *Politics & Society*, 10:3, 1981

[32] David Abraham, "State and Classes in Weimar Germany," *Politics & Society*, 7:3, 1977

Week 7. Resolutions of the Crisis: New forms of *Representation* and *State Intervention*.

In our discussions of the development of the bourgeois democratic welfare state we have focussed on two faces of the contemporary crisis: the dimension of the crisis which revolves around the welfare activities of the state -- what the state does -- and the dimension which revolves around the institutional form of the state, specifically is "bourgeois democratic" forms of representation.

As one would expect, the discussions about the possible resolutions to the current crisis also revolve around these two dimensions. On the one hand there are discussions which focus primarily on the new types of state intervention needed in the context of global, transnational capitalism. The emphasis here is on new forms of state regulation and management of investment, state coordination of productivity changes, new kinds of manpower-planning, etc. On the other hand, there has been considerable discussion about the new form of the state needed to accomplish these tasks while simultaneously containing the new forms of social conflict characteristic of advanced capitalism. The heart of this discussion has been around "neo-corporatism" -- the various institutional arrangements in which organizations representing different social categories (unions, business, consumers, the handicapped, etc.) are represented on government decision-making bodies. Instead of

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representing citizens as atomized individuals as in parliamentary democracy, corporatism is a system of representing categories of individuals who are already organized into some sort of corporate entity.

In this session we will focus on the debate over neocorporatism. To what extent are neocorporatist arrangements actually replacing traditional parliamentary democratic forms of representation? Is it plausible that such forms will eventually become the central institutional form of legitimation-representation in advanced capitalist societies? Under what conditions are such neocorporatist forms likely to be stable and under what conditions unstable and ineffective? Overall, are corporatist institutions a more or less favorable terrain for struggles for socialism?

CORE READINGS:

Philippe Schmitter and Gerhard Lehmbruch (eds), Trends Towards Corporatist Intermediation (Beverly Hills: SAGE. 1979), Especially the following essays:

Philippe Schmitter, "Modes of Interest Intermediation and Models of Social Change in Western Europe", pp.63-95

Leo Panitch, "The Development of Corporatism in Liberal Democracies", pp.119-146

Bob Jessop, "Corporatism, Parliamentarism and Social Democracy", pp. 185-212

[33] Leo Panitch, "Trade Unions and the Capitalist State," New Left Review #125, pp.21-43, January-February, 1981.

Ian Gough, The Political Economy of the Welfare State, pp.146-152.

[34] Nicos Poulantzas, "The Decline of Democracy: authoritarian statism" in State, Power and Socialism by Nicos Poulantzas (London: NLB, 1978).pp. 203-247

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[35] Adam Przeworski and Michael Wallerstein, "Democratic Capitalism at the crossroads", Democracy, July, 1982

[7] Bob Jessop, "Capitalism and Democracy: the best possible shell?" (concluding section, pp.40-49) in Littlejohn, (ed), Power and the State (London: Croom Helm, 1978).

[36] J. Westergaard, "Class, Inequality and 'Corporatism'" in A. Hunt,(ed) Class and Class Structure (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1977)

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Leo Panitch, "Recent Theorizations of Corporatism: reflections on a growth industry," *British Journal of Sociology*, June 1980

[37] Peter Katzenstein, "Corporatism and the Politics of Industry" (paper presented at the annaul meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1982)

OTHER READINGS:

M.Crozier, et.al., *The Crisis of Democracy* (NYU Press, 1975)

Week 8. Capitalist Democracy and the Transition to Socialism

The resolutions to the crisis of the democratic welfare state discussed above all presupposed the reproduction of the essential structure of capitalism. The crucial political question posed to the left is whether the current crisis might not also open up possibilities for a socialist transition. And to assess this issue we must look more carefully at the problem of the transition to socialism in capitalist democracies.

The work of Adam Przeworski poses these issues in the clearest manner. He argues that the nature of the rules of the game in parliamentary democracies necessarily make any move towards socialism extremely precarious, perhaps even impossible, *both* for strategies that wish to abide by those rules *and* for strategies which attempt to work outside of them. Socialist politics are caught in inescapable dilemmas, dilemmas which may make the transition to socialism in the advanced capitalist world an impossibility. In this session we will scrutinize Przeworski's argument.

CORE READINGS:

[38] Adam Przeworski, "Social Democracy as an Historical Phenomenon", *New Left Review*, #122, July-August 1980, pp.27-58.

[39] Adam Przeworski and John Sprague, "Party Strategy, Class Ideology and Individual voting: a theory of electoral socialism", unpublished paper, May 1982.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Adam Przeworski, "From Proletariat into Class: the process of class formation from Kautsky's *The Class Struggle* to recent contributions", *Politics & Society*, 7:4, 1977

John Stephens, *The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism*, chapter 6, "Beyond the Welfare State"

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Erik Olin Wright, "Socialist Strategies and the State", concluding chapter Class Crisis and the State.

PART II. GENERAL THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE STATE

Weeks 9 and 10. "Structuralist" approaches to the State: the work of Nicos Poulantzas

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of Nicos Poulantzas' contribution to the development of the Marxist theory of the state. While there is a great deal to critique in his work, both in terms of the form of exposition (opaque & marxiological) and many of his specific formulations, still his ideas have systematically shaped the analysis of the state of both his critics and supporters for more than a decade. In spite of its difficulty, therefore, it is important to become familar with the central themes and theses of his work.

Although it is probably his most difficult work, we will focus primarily on Poulantzas' most general theroetical statement on the state, Political Power and Social Classes, published originally in France in 1968 and translated into English in 1973. This book was the first major, comprehensive attempt at a construction of a rigorous Marxist theory of the state in the recent renaissance of Marxist theory, and it immediately sparked a great deal of debate.

The book comes out of the Althusserian philosophical framework, and was seen as a contribution to developing the basic insights of Althusser's Marxism around the problem of the state. Nevertheless, I think that it is important to read the work not simply as an "illustration" of Althusserian methodological principles, but as a substantive analysis of the nature and effects of the state in capitalist society.

We will spend two weeks discussing the book. To facilitate the reading, I have included two "guides" to Poulantzas in the xeroxed course materials: the first is a general summary of Poulantzas's theoretical argument written by myself and Luca Perrone; the second is a section-by-section annotated guide to the book itself in which I indicate what the central issue or point of a particular part of the book is. Hopefully these will make the reading somewhat less arduous.

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CORE READINGS:

FIRST WEEK:

[40] Erik Olin Wright and Luca Perrone, "The structuralist-Marxist approach", part 3 of "The Structuralist-Marxist and Parsonsian Theories of Politics", unpublished manuscript, 1973.

[41] Erik Olin Wright, "A reading guide to Poulantzas' Political Power and Social Classes" (mimeo, 1977; updated, 1981)

Nicos Poulantzas, Political Power and Social Classes (NLB/Verso 1973).

Required. 25-141, 147-152 (especially: 25-33, 44-50, 73-77, 104-114, 130-137, 147-153).

Optional. 11-25, 142-146, 153-187.

SECOND WEEK:

Nicos Poulantzas, Political Power and Social Classes.

Required: 137-194, 225-245, 255-289, 296-321 (especially: 187-189, 190-194, 229-234, 275-279, 279-289, 296-303, 317-321).

Optional: 195-224, 246-252, 290-295, 326-359

SUGGESTED READINGS:

A. Other work by Poulantzas

[42] "The Problem of the Capitalist State," New Left Review #58, 1969.

Fascism and Dictatorship (London: NLB. 1974)

Classes in Contemporary Capitalism (NLB, 1975)

State, Power, Socialism (NLB, 1978)

B. Work on the State which explicitly adopts and extends Poulantzas' Framework.

Goran Therborn, What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?

David Abraham, The Collapse of the Weimar Republic (Princeton University Press, 1981)

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C. Critiques of Poulantzas (*read at least one of these*):

[43] Ralph Miliband, "Poulantzas and the Capitalist State", *New Left Review* #82, 1973

[44] Ernesto LaClau, "The Specificity of the Political", in LaClau, *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory* (NLB, 1977)

[45] Simon Clarke, "Marxism, Sociology and Poulantzas' Theory of the State" *Capital and Class* #2, 1977.

[46] ____________, "Capital, Fractions of Capital and the State: Neo-Marxist Analysis of the South African State," *Capital and Class* #5, 1978.

[47] Amy Bridges, "Nicos Poulantzas and the Marxist Theory of the State", *Politics & Society* 4:2, 1977.

[48] John Solomos, "The Marxist Thoary of the State and the problem of Fractions: some theoretical and methodological remarks", *Capital and Class* #7, 1979.

Bob Jessop, "Hegemony, Force and State Power", chaper 4 in *The Capitalist State* (New York: NYU Press, 1982).

Week 11. What, if anything, makes the capitalist state a *capitalist* state?

At the heart of Poulantzas' work was an attempt at defining the structural properties of the state at the level of abstraction of modes of production. Many of the issues we have discussed so far this semester have directly or indirectly touched on this problem: can the state be theoretically specified at that level of abstraction? Does the state in capitalist societies (societies within which the capitalis mode of production is dominant) have a distinctively capitalist form (a form which can be specified at the level of abstraction of the capitalist mode of production), or is it simply constrained by its relationship to capitalist institutions? This session of the seminar will try to sort out these issues. In particular, we will address three inter-related methodological and substantive questions:

(1). *Methodolocical issue*: Is it legitimate to try to define unique class properties of state apparatuses? (Jessop chapter)

(2). *Methodological issue*: Even if it is legitimate to claim that the state has a distinctive class character, how is it possible to substantiate actual claims about that class character? (Offe essay)

(3). *Substantive issue*: What aspects of the form of the state can be considered most fundamentally capitalist in character? (Therborn book and Offe and Ronge essay).

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CORE READINGS:

Goran Therborn, *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules*
(London: NLB, 1978).pp 23-97, 118-119, 129-161

[49] Claus Offe, "Structural Problems of the Capitalist State: Class rule and the political system. On the selectiveness of political institutions", in Von Beyme (ed). *German Political Studies*, vol. I (Sage, 1974).

[50] Claus Offe and Volker Ronge, "These on the Theory of the State" *New German Critique* #6, Fall, 1975.

[51] Bob Jessop, "Towards a Theoretical Account of the State", chapter 5 in Jessop, *The Capitalist State*.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[52] Herbert Kitschelt, "Review of Goran Therborn, *What Does*....", *Kapitalistate* #7, 1979

[53] John Keane, "The Legacy of Political Economy: thinking with and against Claus Offe," *Canadian Journal of Political & Social Theory*, 1978.

[54] S. Sardei-Biermann, et. al., "Class Domination and the Political System: a critical interpretation of recent contributions by Claus Offe", *Kapitalistate* #1, 1973.

[55] Claus Offe, "Advanced Capitalism and the Welfare State" *Politics & Society*, Summer 1972.

[56] _____,"Laws of Motion of Reformist State Policies" (an empirical study applying the general theoretical ideas from the CORE READINGSs), mimeo, 1976.

[57] _____,"The Abolition of Market control and the Problem of Legitimacy," *Kapitalistate* #1 and #2, 1973-1974.

[26] _____,"Competitive Party Democracy and the Keynesian Welfare State", op.cit.

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Week 12. State Interests, State Capacities, State Managers

Perhaps the most interesting theoretical development in the past several years in discussions on the state has revolved around the problem of the state managers, state capacities, state interests and, more generally, the state as such as an actor (rather than just as a structure or a terrain of action/struggle). Particularly in the debates in the United States, a number of influential theorists -- Theda Skocpol and Fred Block, for example -- have argued for the centrality of state-centered interests and capacities in understanding the state and its effects.

CORE READINGS:

[58] Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In: False Leads and Promising Starts in Current Theories and Research," working paper prepared for discussion at SSRC Conference on "States and Social Structures," February, 1982.

[59] Kenneth Finegold and Theda Skocpol, "State, Party and Industry: From Business Recovery to the Wagner Act in America's New Deal," forthcoming in Charles C. Bright and Susan F. Harding (eds) *Statemaking and Social Movements* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).

[60] Fred Block, "Beyond Relative Autonomy: state managers as historical subjects", *The Socialist Register*, 1980.,pp.227-242.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[61] Theda Skocpol, "Political Response to Capitalist Crisis: Neo-Marxist Theories of the State and the Case of the New Deal," *Politics & Society*, 10:2, 1980

[3] Fred Block, "The Ruling Class Does Not Rule", *Socialist Review*, May-June, 1977

[62] Ralph Miliband, "State Power and Class Interests" *New Left Review* #138, March-April, 1983.

[63] Theda Skocpol and Ken Finegold, "Economic Intervention and the Early New Deal", *Political Science Quarterly*, 97:2, 1982, pp.255-278.

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (Cambridge University Press: 1978)

Margaret Weir and Theda Skocpol, "State Structures and Social Keynesianism: responses to the Great Depression in Sweden and the United States", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, December, 1983.

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Week 13. Political Class Struggle and the State

Many of the debates we have discussed will continue to be prominent features of Marxist discourse in the years to come. They will not be "resolved" because they reflect different political orientations on the one hand, and different methodological/epistemological commitments on the other. Nevertheless, I think that it is possible to encorporate at least some of the core insights from the different points of view into a general framework for understanding the state, which I refer to as the "political class struggle" approach.

CORE READINGS:

[64] Gosta Esping-Anderson, Roger Friedland and Erik Olin Wright, "Modes of class struggle and the capitalist state", Kapitalistate #5, 1976.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[65] Gosta Esping-Anderson, "Social Class, Social Democracy and the State: Housing Policy in Denmark and Sweden", Comparative Politics, Fall 1978.

Erik Olin Wright, "Bureaucracy and the State", chapter 4 in Class, Crisis and the State

Week 14 and Week 15. Optional Topics.

No specific topics have been selected for the final two weeks of the seminar. There are three alternatives: (1) Return to a topic we have already discussed during the semester which needed more time; (2) select a topic from the list of optional topics below; (3). Devote the sessions to verbal presentation of seminar projects by students in the seminar.

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PART III. ADDITIONAL TOPICS

A. GENERAL THEORETICAL ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

1. What is "Politics"? What is "the state"?

Many of the debates over the state and politics, both within Marxism and between Marxist and nonMarxist perspectives, are confused because the lables are being used to designate different phenomena, different concepts, different structures and processes. While it may seem somewhat scholastic to have a discussion centering entirely on what we mean by these terms, a sharp clarification of these issues is important.

CORE READINGS:

[66] Ellen Meikins Woods, "The Separation of the Economic and the Political in Capitalism," *New Left Review* #127, 1981

[67] Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses", in Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971)

[68] Alan Wolfe, "New Directions in the Marxist Theory of Politics", *Politics & Society*, 4:2, 1974

Max Weber, "The Political Community", *Economy and Society*, chapter 9 in volume II (University of California Press edition, 1978).

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[69] Erik Olin Wright, "The Status of the Political in the Concept of Class Structure", *Politics & Society*, 11:3, 1982.

[70] Barry Hindess, "Classes and Politics in Marxist Theory," in Littlejohn,(ed), *Power and the State*, (London: Croom Helm, 1978)

[71] Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel, *Marxism and Socialist Theory* (Boston: South End Press, 1981), chapter 3. "Politics and History."

[44] Ernesto LaClau, "The Specificity of the Political", in LaClau, *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory* (London:NLB, 1977)

[72] Michael Burawoy, "Factory Politics in Britain and the United States", unpublished manuscript, 1981 version.

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G.A. Cohen, "Base and Superstructure, powers and rights," chapter VIII in Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History* (Princeton University Press, 1978).

Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, especially part IX, "Barbarism and Civilization"

2. Conceptualizations of "Power".

Lurking behind the alternative concepts of politics and the state are divergent conceptualizations of "power." At least the following definitions of power appear in the literature:

(1). Behavioral definition: power is the ability of A to for B to do something over the objection of B or in spite of the resistence of B. (Weber)

(2). Power as limits: power is the ability of one actor to determine the limits of possibilities for action of another actor -- nonevents, nondecionmaking, negative selection, etc. (Offe, Bachrach and Baratz, "the two faces of power").

(3). Power and interests: Power is the capacity to realize one's interests against the actual or potential resistence of opposing interests. (Lukes, "the three faces of power")

(4). Power and action: Power is the capacity to act where that capacity depends upon mobilizing the intentionality of other actors for action. (Giddens)

There are undoubtedly other conceptualizations which could also be included here, but this captures some of the salient alternatives. The readings for this session encompass a fairly wide range of views on power. In assessing them it is important to continually ask: what real difference does one conceptualization or another make for the kinds of substantive questions one can ask and the problems one can investigate.

CORE READINGS:

Steven Lukes, *Power: a Radical View* (London: McMillan, 1974)

Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory* (University of California Press, 1979), pp.85-94

Anthony Giddens, "Domination, Power and Exploitation: a analysis", chapter 2 in *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (University of California Press, 1981)

Goran Therborn, *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?*, pp.129-153.

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[73] Jeffery Isaac, "Beyond the Three Faces of Power: a realist critique (unpublished manuscript, 1982).

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Nicos Poulantzas, *State, Power, Socialism* (NLB, 1978), pp35-62, 123-154.

Roderick Martin, *The Sociology of Power* (Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1977

Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (Vintage, 1979)

3. Critical Theory approaches to the state: Habermas

Discussions of the state in the tradition of critical theory have been marked by two interconnected concerns: (1) the problem of state *rationality*; and (2) the problem of *legitimation*. Claus Offe's work (which we have discussed in several sessions) is particularly preoccupied with the first of these. He asks: given the formal, institutional separation of the state and economy in capitalist society, what (if anything) guarantees that the state will pursue policies that are rational from the point of view of the interests of the capitalist class? Habermas has also been concerned with analysing rationality and the state, but his central focus has been on the question of legitimation, more specifically, for the tendencies for the contradictions of the capitalist economy to become displaced onto the political arena as the role of the state expands with capitalist development. The core of his work on the state thus concerns the dynamics of what he calls "crises of legitimacy." Although the idiom of his analysis often seems closer to sociological systems theory than to Marxism, nevertheless the underlying theoretical problems are closely linked to traditional Marxist concerns with contradictions, capitalist development and revolutionary transformation.

CORE READINGS:

Jurgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis* (Beacon Press, 1975), especially Part II and Part III.

[74] Alan Wolfe, "New Directions in the Marxist Theory of Politics", *Politics & Society*, 4:2, 1974.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[75] Tony Woodiwiss, "Critical Theory and the Capitalist State", *Economy and Society*, 7:2, 1978.

[76] Bertell Ollman, "The State as a Value Relation", in *Alienation* (Cambridge University Press, 1976, second edition, pp.212-220.

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Jurgen Habermas, "The Public Sphere," *Telos*, 1:3, 1974

Paul Connerton (ed) *Critical Sociology* (Penguin, 1976), essay on "Legitimation" by Habermas

Goran Therborn, "A Critique of the Frankfurt School", *New Left Review*, #63, 1970.

4. The State as a "Condition of Existence" of Capital: Barry Hindess. Paul Hirst and "post-Althusserian" British Marxism.

The work of Poulantzas and Althusser had a particularly important impact on certain tendencies within British Marxism in the 1970s. In particular, a group of Marxists sometimes referred to as "post-Althusserians" (because of the way in which they have extended Althusser's framework and carried it to a logical extreme which resulted in a wholesale rejection of Althusser) have had a major influence among academic Marxists in sociology and related disciplines.

Within this group, the work of Barry Hindess and Paul Q. Hirst have been the most widely read and discussed. Their basic point in the analysis of the state is that attempts to derive any kind of "essence" of the state from the analysis of class relations must be rejected. The state, they argue, cannot be understood in terms of the fulfillment of necessary functions dictated by the class structure of capitalism or as the ideal expression of those class relations. Rather, the state must be understood in terms of the historically specific ways in which certain "conditions of existence" of capitalist production relations are secured. The securing of these conditions of existence, they argue, can never be taken for granted and is never guaranteed by the simple fact of capitalist class relations; rather, such conditions are only created through concrete struggle.

CORE READINGS:

[70] Barry Hindess, "Classes and Politics in Marxist Theory", in Littlejohn (ed), *Power and the State* (Croom Helm, 1978)

[77] Barry Hindess and Paul Q. Hirst, "Primitive Communism, Politics and the State", in *Precapitalist Modes of Production* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).

[78] Anthony Cutler, Barry Hindess, Paul Hirst and Athar Hussain, "Mode of Production, Social Formation, Classes", chapter 6 in *Marx's Capital and Capitalism Today* vol I. (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977).

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SUGGESTED READINGS:

[6] Barry Hindess, "Marxism and Parliamentary Democracy", in Hunt (ed)Marxism and Democracy (Lawrence & Wishart, 1980).

Barry Hindess, "Democracy and the Limitations of Parliamentary Democracy in Britain," Politics & Power #1, 1980

5. Capital Logic and State Derivation Perspectives.

Perhaps the least familiar tradition in the Marxist theory of the state in North America is the tradition which attempts to derive the central features of the capitalist state from the "logic" or "form" of the capital relation. This tradition has been extremely influential in West Germany and Scandanavia, and has begun to have a certain influence in Britain as well among more "orthodox" Marxists. The essential thrust of the approach is to attempt to derive logically various characteristics of the state from the analysis of capital accumulation in Capital. Holloway and Picciotto provide a good overview of the approach in the introduction to their book, State and Capital, and the chapter by Hirsch is an example of the approach by aone of the leading German proponents.

CORE READINGS:

[79] John Holloway and Sol Picciotto, "Towards a Materialist Theory of the State", chapter 1 of State and Capital (University of Texas Press, 1978).

[13] Joachim Hirsch, "The State Apparatus and Social Reproduction: elements of a theory of the Bourgeois state", in State and Capital ed by Holloway and Picciotto.

Bob Jessop, "Form and Functions of the State", chapter 3 in The Capitalist State

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[30] John Holloway and Sol Picciotto, Capital, Crisis and the State", Capital and Class #2, 1977.

[81] Margaret Fay, "Review of State and Capital", Kapitalistate #7, 1979

[82] John Holloway, "The State and Everyday Struggle" (unpublished manuscript, 1979).

John Holloway and Sol Picciotto (eds), The State and Capital (University of Texas Press, 1978): an anthology of capital logic essays.

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6. Microfoundations for the theory of the state: the attempt by Marxists to use "rational choice" models to understand politics and the state.

One of the most recent trends in Marxist theorizing has been the attempt to incorporate some of the insights and methodological principles of "game theory" (or the theory of rational choice, or strategic action, depending upon the precise context of the rhetoric) into the substantive concerns of Marxism. Sometimes this has taken the form of the use of formal game theoretic models as in the work of John Roemer and Jon Elster. In other cases, this work has a less formal character and consists mainly in trying to see how the analysis of rational action can inform propositions about the state. In principle such work tries to combine the more structural impulses of traditional marxism with the more individualistic preoccupations of rational/strategic choice analysis, although in practice it often seems like the social structural analysis is absorbed into the micro-individual analysis. In any event, as Jon Elster describes it, the effort is to establish the "micro-foundations of Marxism".

Relatively little work has been done explicitly on the state within this emerging tendency, but I think that it is stimulating and poses important general questions. Strategic action theory at least has the potential of avoiding the false dichotomy between voluntarism and determinism which characterizes so many debates within Marxism.

CORE READINGS:

[83] Richard Emerson, "State Formation in Baltistan," forthcoming in *Politics and Society*, 1984.

[84] Margaret Levi, "The Predatory Theory of Rule", *Politics & Society*, 10:2, 1981

[85] Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), pp.3-74

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[86] Brian Barry, "State Policy Determination: structure *cum* choice" (unpublished manuscript, 1980)

[87] Michael Hechter and William Brustein, "Regional Modes of Production and Patterns of State Formation in Western Europe," *American Journal of Sociology*, 85:5, 1980.

Jon Elster, "Marxism, Functionalism and Game Theory." *Theory and Society*, July, 1982

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_____ Ulysses and the Sirens (Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp.1-36.

Brian Barry, Sociologists, Economists and Democracy (Collier McMillan, 1970).

7. Gramsci and the State

Gramsci's fragmented work on the state has probably been more influencial in shaping the thinking of recent Continental discussions of the state than any other writer of the first half of the twentieth century other than Lenin. Because of the conditions under which he wrote (in a Fascist prison in the 1920s and 1930s) his work is often very difficult to decode, and the theoretical arguments are often elliptic and ambiguous. Nevertheless, his discussions of hegemony, war of position/war of manoeuvre, civil society and the state, intellectuals, passive revolution and various other topics have helped to define the terrain of much contemporary work.

CORE READINGS:

Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks (International Publishers, 1971), especially the following essays:

"Problems of Marxism: Economy and Ideology" (pp.407-409)

"The formation of Intellectuals" (pp.5-14)

"The Modern Prince" (123-202)

"State and CThe ivil Society" (206-275)

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[10] Perry Anderson,"The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci", New Left Review #100, 1977.

Carl Boggs, Gramsci's Marxism (Pluto Press, 1976)

Christine Buci-Gluksman, Gramsci and the State (hardback: Humanities Press, 1981: paperback: London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1981)

_______ "State, Transition and passive revolution". in Chantal Mouffe (ed) Gramsci and Marxist Theory, (Routledge & Kagan Paul, 1979)

Biagio de Giovanni, "Lenin and Gramsci: state, politics and party", in Mouffe, ibid.

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Walter Adamson, Hegemony and Revolution: Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory, especially chapter 7, "The Autonomy of Politics", pp. 202-228, (University of California Press, 1980)

Anne Showstack-Sassoon, Gramsci's Politics (Croom Helm, 1980)

Harvey Kaye, "Antonio Gramsci: an annotated bibliography of studies in English", Politics & Society, 10:3, 1981.

B. ADDITIONAL SUBSTANTIVE TOPICS

8. The State and the Oppression of Women

The development of feminist theory in recent years has posed a significant challenge to Marxism. Is it possible to understand the specificity of the oppression of women within a theory that revolves around the concept of class? Does Marxism ultimately entail some kind of reduction of gender oppression to class relations? These and related questions have underwritten a wide ranging and lively debate which has, I think, enriched both Marxism and feminism.

Relatively little of the dialogue between Marxists and feminists, however, has centered on the state. The site of the debate has been much more on the family and work. Yet, in many ways the analysis of the state should be an especially fertile terrain for trying to understand the relationship between class and gender. The challenge to feminists in terms of the theory of the state would be: Can the state be understood as a form of patriarchal domination/relations? Can the state become a theoretical object within the conceptual framework of feminist theory as it now stands? In answering these questions it is not enough to simply document the effects of the state in reproducing male domination (any more than in a class theory of the state s a catalogue of the class-effects of the state sufficient). What is needed is a theory of the mechanisms which generate and reproduce such effects. To us a familar expression: is the state just a state in patriarchal society, or is it in some theoretically coherent sense a patriarchal state?

The challenge of these issues for Marxists, on the other hand, would be: Can a theory of the state which undersdtands the structures, mechanisms and effects of the state in terms of class struggle provide an account of the state's role in the reproduction of gender relations? Does such an attempt inevitably lead to a class functionalism within which sexual domination can be understood only in terms of the ways in which it contributes to class domination?

CORE READINGS:

[58] Joey Sprague"Toward a Theory of the Patriarchal State" (revised version, unpublished manuscript, 1983)

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[89] Lena Bruselid, "Women, Class and State: evaluating social policy and political demands, in Work and Inequality, ed by Paul Boreham and Geoff Dow (Melbourne: McMillan of Australia, 1980).

[90] Mary McIntosh, "The State and the Oppression of Women," in Feminism and Materialism, ed. by A. Kuhn and A. Wolpe (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978).

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[91] Jalna Hanmer, "Violence and the SocialControl of Women," in Littlejohn (ed). Power and the State (Croom Helm, 1978)

[92] Altina Grossman, "Abortion and the Economic Crisis, New German Critique #14.

[93] Rayna Reiter, "Men and Women in the South of France: public and private domaines," in Towards and Anthropology of Women, ed. by Reiter, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975).

Lesley Caldwell, "Church, State and Family: the women's movement in Italy," in Feminism and Materialism, op.cit.

Ann Corine Hill, The Protection of Women Workers and the Courts gal case history," Feminist Studies, 5:2, pp.247-274

J. Humphries, "Protective Legislation, the Capitalist State, and Working class men," Feminist Review, #7, 1981.

Diana L. Barker, "The Regulation of Marriage: repressive benevolence" in Littlejohn, (ed), op.cit.

Linda Goran, Woman's Body, Woman's Right, esp. pp.313-402

9. The State in the Third World

Most of the systematic theorizing on the capitalist state has focussed on the state in advanced capitalist societies. Relatively little of a general character has been written on the state in the third world. The analysis of the state in such societies is particularly complex because of the complexity of their class structures (particularly the continuing existence of precapitalist relations of production and large, differentiated peasantries) and because of the dependent character of state activities which result from the subordination to international capital. In one session we cannot possibly hope to sort out the full range of problems concerning the state in the periphery, but we may be able to identify some of the salient issues which give these states their distinctive character.

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CORE READINGS:

[94] W. Zieman and M. Lanzendorfer, The State in Peripheral Societies", *Socialist Registery*, 1977.

[95] H. Alavi, The State in Post-Colonial Societies -- Pakistan and Bangladesh", *New Left Review* #74, 1972.

[96] William Canak, "The Peripheral State Debate: bureaucratic authoritarianism and state capitalism." (unpublished manuscript, 1981).

[97] Nora Hamilton, "State Autonomy and Dependent Capitalism in Latin America," *The British Journal of Sociology*, XXXII:3, 1981, pp.305-329

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[98] B. Harrison, "The Chilean State After the Coup, *The Socialist Register*, 1977.

[99] G. Therborn, "The Travail of Latin American Democracy," *New Left Review*, #113-114, 1979.

[100] C. Leys, "The Overdeveloped Post-Colonial State: a re-evaluation", *Review of African Political Economy*, #5.

[101] B.J. Berman and J.M. Lonsdale, "Crises of Accumulation, Coercion and the Colonial State: the development of the labor control system in Keyna, 1919-1929", unpublished manuscript, 1979.

G. O'Donnel,"Corporatism and the Question of the State," in *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America* (Malloy, ed.), 1976.

N. Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy* (Princeton University Press, 1982)

M. Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda* (MR Press)

10. The State and Racism

Most Marxist discussionsof racism focus primarily on how racial divisions serve the interests of the capitalist class, both economically (superexploitation) and politically (divide and conquor). Where the stateis included in the analysis it is typically in a relatively instrumentalist way: the bourgeoisie has interests in racism and unproblamatically translates those interests into state policies. It is only recently that a more concerted analysis of the specificity of the state's relationship to racism has begun. Much of

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this analysis has centered on debates over the South African state, since South Africa is the modern example of a state organized to its core systematically around the issue of race, but similar analyses have appeared for the U.S. South, Northern Ireland and a variety of other places. In this session we will explore this basic question: how should we understand the specificity of the role of the state in the production and reproduction of racial (or ethnic, or national, etc.) oppression? Is there a racist form of the state, or does the state simply engage in racist policies contingently?

CORE READINGS:

[102] Michael Burawoy, "The Capitalist State in South Africa: Marxist and Sociological Perspectives on Race and Class," in Zeitlin (ed), *Political Power and Social Theory*, vol. 2, 1981. (JAI Press).

David James, *The Resistence to the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, 1981).

Stanley Greenberg, *Race and State in Capitalist Development* (Yale University Press, 1980)

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[103] Michael Burawoy, "State and Social Revolution in South Africa: reflections on the comparative perspectives of Greenberg and Skocpol," *Kapitalistate* #9, 1981

[104] Harold Wolpe, "Towards an Analysis of the South African State", *International Journal of Sociology of Law*, 8:4, 1980

[105] Gideon Ben-Tovim, et. al., "Race, Left Strategies and the State" *Politics & Power* #3, 1981

11. The State and the Labor Process

The labor process constitutes one of the most fundamental categorias of Marxist analysis, and yet there is very little theoretical or empirical work which attempts to link this category to the problem of the state. Michael Burawoy argues that it is impossible to satisfactorily understand either the logic of development of the labor process itself or the nature of political struggle around the state without a structural investigation of the linkage between the two. The state helps to define the rules of the game of struggles in the labor process; the nature of the labor process, its contradictions and dilemmas helps to define the development of the state.

CORE READINGS:

Michael Burawoy, "The Production of Politics and the Politics of

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Production", in Political Power and Social Theory, vol. I (JAI Press, 1979).

______________, "Factory Politics and the State" (unpublished manuscript, 1983).

12. The State and the Internationalization of Capital

One of the most striking developments in the structure of capital since the end of the Second World War has been the qualitative transformation in internationaoforms of organization of capitalist production. Production is increasingly organized on a global scale -- the global factory as some people have termed it -- a capital is increasingly mobile internationally. Yet political systems have remained almost exclusively organized on a national basis. The state remains national in form while capitalist production becomes increasing international. This contradiction has profound implications for the character of class struggles and for the capacities of nation states to regulate the conditions of accumulation in their own countries. How will these contradictions be resolved? How serious are they? Are institutions like the IMF and the World Bank emergent forms of transnational state apparatuses?

CORE READINGS (Incomplete):

[106] Alberto Martinelli and Eugenio Somaini, Multinational Corporations and the Nation State," Kapitalistate #1, 1973.

[107] Nicos Poulantzas, International of Capitalist Relations and the Nation State", in Classes in Contemporary Capitalism (NLB, 1975), pp.38-88.

[Other readings will be assembled if students wish to pursue this topic]

13. The State in the Inter-State System

Marxists have generally insisted on the primacy of the state-class relationship over the state-state relation in understanding the world system of states. Thus, for example, War tends to be understood as a result of interests pursued by competing ruling classes of different countries (i.e. inter-imperialist rivalries) rather than as a result of some distinctive logic of inter-state relations/interactions. States themselves do not have "interests" and are not "subjects" -- at least in traditional Marxist theory. Theda Skocpol and others have challenged these assumptions and have argued that the interstate system must be placed on an equal footing with the class system as a basis for understanding the character and action of nation states.

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CORE READINGS (Incomplete):

Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions (Cambridge University Press,1979), general theoretical sections.

14. The State in the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism

"Absolutism" has always been something of a puzzle for Marxists. If states are always class states, then the Absolutist state must either be a feudal state, a capitalist state or some peculiar amalgam characteristic of the transition period. Yet none of these characterizations is entirely satisfactory. Of these positions, the sharpest lines of debate have been between those who see the state in this period as fundamentally feudal in character (e.g. Perry Anderson) and those who see the Absolutist State as basically an early form of the capitalist state (e.g. Wallerstein).

CORE READINGS:

Perry Anderson, Lineages of the Absolutist State (NLB, 1975), especially pp. 7-59, 195-235, 397-431

Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System (Academic Prossm 1978), pages to be announced.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Gianfranco Poggi, The Development of the Modern State (London: Hutchinson)

Michael Hechter and William Brustein, "Regional Modes of Production and Patterns of State Formation in Western Europe," American Journal of Sociology, 85:5, 1980.

15. Historical Studies of State Formation

There are two historical circumstances in which the "experimental" conditions exist for potentially observing the formation of the class character of state apparatuses: First, in the historical periods in which states are initially formed, and second in periods in which they undergo rapid, radical transformations. When states are formed, many of the institutional properties which later become taken for granted are objects of conscious choice, objects of struggle and debate, and thus the class-specificity of those choices may become observable. Similarly, in periods of rapid transformation, the structural properties of institutional forms are likely to be objects of debate and contestation, and in such contestation the class logics of the alternatives may be revealed In this session we will examine a number of historical case studies which try to investigate the class character of the state in periods of formation and transformation.

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CORE READINGS:

Read one of the Following Studies:

Stephen Skowronek, Building a New American State (Cambridge University Press, 1982), especially, pp. 1-46, 121-176, 248-292

Carolyn Baylies, The Formation of the State in Zambia (unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, 1978), excerpts to be made available in class.

David Abraham, The Collapse of the Weimar Republic (Princeton University Press, 1981)

SUGGESTED READINGS:

[108] Margaret Fay and Margit Mayer, "The Formation of the American Nation-State", Kapitalistate #6, 1977, pp.39-90

16. Power Structure Research

There is a tendency among "serious" Marxist theorists today to dismiss out of hand most "power structure research", on the grounds that it is based on crude instrumentalist theory of the state. While it is certainly the case that such theoretical criticisms are often warranted, nevertheless it is incumbent upon Marxists to try to incorporate into their theorizing the massive evidence about the power structures of the capitalist state compiled by people like C.W.Mills, William Domhoff, Ralph Miliband and others. How can this information be comprehended theoretically? How can we understand the variability in forms of instrumental control (rather than simply the ubiquitousness of such control)? What is the relationship between structural determnation/contsraint and instrumental action in explaining the state?

CORE READINGS:

G. William Domhoff (ed.), New Directions in Power Structure Research, special issue of the Insurgent Sociologist, V:III, Spring, 1975.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

C.W.Mills, The Power Elite (Oxford University Press, 1956)

G. William Domhoff, Who Rules America? (Prentice Hall, 1967)

________, The Higher Circles (Vintage, 1970)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

________, Who Really Rules? New Haven and Community Power Re-examined (Goodyear, 1978).

________, New Directions in Power Structure Research, vol. II. The Insurgent Sociologist, 1981 (7)

17. Quantitative Research on the State

Marxists have generally been quantophobic. Nevertheless, in recent years a number of interesting quantitative studies of state questions have emerged, many of them from graduate students in the Wisconsin sociology department. The danger of such research, of course, is that in attempting to use statistical techniques, the substantive theoretical preoccupations of the research become subordinated to the constraints of the research technologies: dynamic processes become emptied of any "dialectic", the contingencies of historical processes become obliterated in the search for regularities, etc. In the end, it sometimes seems that after the expenditure of such enormous effort, we really do not learn anything very new from quantitative research. On the other hand, there may be situations in which the only effective way of adjudicating between contending claims is to subject those claims to quantitative scruinty.

CORE READINGS: (Read three of the following)

[109] Roger Friedland, Class Power and Social Control The War on Poverty", Politics and Society, 6:4, 1976.

[64] Gosta Esping-Anderson, Social Class, Social Democracy and the State: housing policy in Denmark and Sweden", Comparative Politics, Fall, 1978.

[110] Alexander Hicks, et. al., "Class Power and State Policy", The American Sociological Review, vol. 43, 1978.

[22] David R. Cameron, "The Expansion of the Public Economy: a Comparative Analysis", The American Political Science Review, 72:4, 1978.

[111] Michael Mann, "State and Society, 1130-1815: an analysis of English State Financies", in Zeitlin (ed.) Political Power and Social Theory, vol. I, 1980, pp.165-208.

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18. Law and the State

The law and the legal system have rarely been systematically studied by Marxists. Most investigations have either collapsed the discussion of the law into the discussion of ideology, seeing law as simply one variety of legitimating ideology, Or, the problem of the law has been collapsed into the theory of the repressive apparatus of the state, seeing the legal system as simply the technical form through which repression is exercised in capitalist society. Relatively little attention has been given to law in its own right, as a structure or set of practices and relations within which struggles take place and contradictions of a specific sort develop. This session will try to identify some of the key features that a Marxist theory of law should develop.

CORE READINGS:

[112] Bob Jessop, "On Recent Marxist Theories of Law, the State and Juridico-Political Ideology," *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 8:4, Nov. 1980.

[113] Issac Balbus, "Commodity Form and Legal Form," *Law & Society Review*, 1977.

Bernard Edelman, *Ownership of the Image: Elements for a Marxist theory of Law*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Pashukanis, *Selected Writings on Marxism and Law*, ed. and introduced by P. Bierne and R. Sharlet, (Academic Press, 1979).

Maureen Cain and Alan Hunt, *Marx and Engels on Law* (Academic Press, 1979)

Colin Sumner, *Reading Ideologies: an investigation into the Marxist Theory of Law and Ideology* (Academic Press, 1979)

Isaac Balbus, *The Dialectics of Legal Repression*

Erik Olin Wright, *The Politics of Punishment* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973).

Mark Tushnet, "A Marxist Analysis of American Law," *Marxist Perspectives*, 1978.

Boaventura Santos, "Law and Community: the changing nature of state power in law capitalism," *Int. jour. of the Sociology of Law*, 8:4, 1980.

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OTHER TOPICS FOR WHICH BIBLIOGRAPHIES HAVE NOT YET BEEN PREPARED.

There was not sufficient time before this syllabus was due for me to prepare satisfactory bibliographies on the following topics. Suggestions for further topics are welcome. Eventually these bibliographies will be added to the syllabus.

19. The State in the Ancient world (Greece, Rome, Egypt, etc.)

20. Fascism.

21. The State in "Actually Existing Socialist Societies": a state mode of production?

22. War and Militarism.

23. Nationalism.

24. The Local State.

25. State Formation in Primitive Societies.

26. The State in World Systems Theory.

27. Anarchist Views of the State: Is the State the Enemy?

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Reading List and Course Schedule
Government 1500
Professor James Q. Wilson
Fall, 1983

This is a lecture course meeting three times a week. There will be no formal sections. However, the instructor will hold a discussion meeting just before the hour exam and near the end of the term at times to be announced. Attendance is voluntary.

The course is designed to serve the needs of at least two different audiences: undergraduates wishing a general introduction to the literature on bureaucracy and the nature of American public bureaucracy, and graduate students who may, in addition, be desirous of studying advanced theoretical texts.

After 20 years of teaching this course, I have decided that the same reading list cannot meet the needs of both groups. Therefore, this reading list is divided into two parts: a basic part, required of all students, and a graduate part required of graduate students only. The basic readings are as brief as I can manage and avoid wherever possible technical jargon. The graduate readings include the "classics" of the literature, however difficult or dull.

Undergraduates taking this course for credit will be responsible for all the basic readings and must take an hour exam as well as the final exam. Graduate students will be responsible for the basic and the graduate readings; in partial compensation, they will be excused from the hour exam. On the final exam, there will be some questions for all students to answer and some questions that only graduate students will be expected to answer. Undergraduates and graduates will be graded on different scales: the two groups are not in competition with each other.

Since I want students to become familiar with at least two actual government bureaucracies, as well as with the general literature on the subject, every student (graduate and undergraduate) must read one book selected from the following list. This reading, combined with reading The Investigators (which is part of the basic reading list), will expose you to two agencies. Questions on the final exam will ask you to compare and contrast the two agencies about which you have read. (You are, of course, free to read more than one book from this list if you think that this will help you write a better exam, but that is not required or even necessary.)

Studies of government organizations:

Blau, Peter M., The Dynamics of Bureaucracy (a state employment agency and a federal enforcement agency).

Kaufman, Herbert, The Forest Ranger (the U.S. Forest Service).

Sykes, Gresham, The Society of Captives (a state maximum security prison).

Warwick, Donald P., A Theory of Public Bureaucracy (the U.S. State Department).

Wilson, James Q., Varieties of Police Behavior (eight police departments in small- and medium-sized U.S. cities).

Katzmann, Robert A., Regulatory Bureaucracy (the Federal Trade Commission).

A research paper may, with the approval of the instructor, be written for extra credit but not in lieu of any examination. By "extra credit" is meant this: If the paper is good, it will improve your course grade; if it is poor, perfunctory, or merely average, it will not improve that grade but neither will it hurt it.

The instructor's office is in Littauer M-18 (telephone 495-2150). Office hours are ordinarily on Monday and Wednesday afternoons, 2-4:00 p.m., but it is best to call ahead for an appointment.

The readings by Halperin, Schultze, Seidman, and Wilson are available for purchase at the Coop.

Government 1500

I. THE NATURE OF BUREAUCRACY (Sept. 19-23)

Max Weber, "The Essentials of Bureaucratic Organization," in Robert K. Merton, *Reader in Bureaucracy*, pp. 18-26.

Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," in Merton, *Reader*, pp. 361-371.

II. BUREAUCRACY IN HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE (Sept. 26-Oct. 3)

Basic

James Q. Wilson, "The Rise of the Bureaucratic State," *The Public Interest* (Fall, 1975).

Ernest Barker, *The Development of Public Services in Western Europe, 1660-1930*.

Michael Crozier, *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon*, Chapter 8.

Graduate

Joel D. Aberbach, Robert D. Putnam, and Bert A. Rockman, *Bureaucrats and Politicians in Western Democracies*, Chapters 4 and 5.

III. A PERSPECTIVE ON BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS (Oct. 5-7)

Basic

James Q. Wilson, *The Investigators*, Chapter 1.

Graham Allison, *Essence of Decision*, Chapters 1 and 3.

Morton H. Halperin, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*, Chapter 3.

Anthony Downs, *Inside Bureaucracy*, Chapters 3 and 6.

Graduate

Chester I. Bernard, *The Functions of the Executive*, Chapters 6 and 7.

Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, Chapters 1 and 2.

Richard Cyert and James March, *The Behavioral Theory of the Firm*, Chapters 1 and 6.

IV. OPERATORS AND TASKS (Oct. 12-17)

Basic

Wilson, The Investigators, Chapter 2.

F.J. Roethlisberger, "The Hawthorne Experiments," in Jay M. Shafritz and Albert C. Hyde, eds., Classics of Public Administration, pp. 67-77.

Alex Carey, "The Hawthorne Studies: A Radical Critique," American Sociological Review, vol. 32 (1967), pp. 403-416.

V. MANAGER (Oct. 19-24)

Basic

Wilson, The Investigators, Chapter 4.

Michael Crozier, The Bureaucratic Phenomenon, Chapters 6 and 7.

Graduate

Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior, 3rd. ed., Introduction and Chapters 1-4, and 9.

William Niskanen, Bureaucracy and Representative Government, Chapters 1-4.

Anthony Downs, Inside Bureaucracy, Chapters 8 and 9.

Edward C. Banfield, "The Decision-Making Scheme," Public Administration Review (Autumn, 1957), pp. 278-285.

VI. EXECUTIVES (Oct. 26-Nov. 2)

Basic

Wilson, The Investigators, Chapter 6.

W. Michael Blumenthal, "Candid Reflections of a Businessman in Washington," Fortune, January 29, 1979, pp. 36-49.

Herbert Kaufman, The Administrative Behavior of Federal Bureau Chiefs (Brookings, 1981), Chapter 2.

Graduate

Bernard, The Functions of the Executive, Chapters 11 and 12.

Selznick, Leadership in Administration, Chapters 3 and 4.

VII. GOALS, INNOVATION, AND LEADERSHIP (Nov. 7-11)

Basic

Edward C. Banfield, "Ends and Means in Planning," in S. Mailick and E. Van Ness, *Concepts and Issues in Administrative Behavior*, pp. 70-80.

Morton Halperin, *Bureaucratic Politics*, Chapter 7.

James Q. Wilson, "Innovation in Organizations: Notes Toward a Theory," in James D. Thompson, *Approaches to Organizational Design*, pp. 193-218.

Wilson, *The Investigators*, Chapter 5.

Edward C. Banfield, "The Training of the Executive," *Public Policy*, vol. 10 (1960), pp. 16-43.

Hugh Heclo, *A Government of Strangers*, Chapters 4-6.

VIII. PERSONALITY, VALUES, AND OUTPUTS (Nov. 14-18)

Basic

Joel D. Aberbach and Bert A. Rockman, "Clashing Beliefs within the Executive Branch: The Nixon Administration Bureaucracy," *American Political Science Review*, vol. LXX (June, 1976), pp. 446-468.

Peter Blau and W. Richard Scott, *Formal Organizations*, pp. 60-74, 244-247.

Frank Levy, et. al., *Urban Outcomes*, Chapter 4.

IX. CLIENTS AND CITIZENS (Nov. 21-23)

Basic

Philip Selznick, "Cooptation," in Merton, Reader in Bureaucracy, pp. 135-139.

Theodore J. Lowi, The End of Liberalism, Chapter 4.

Harold Seidman, Politics, Position, and Power, 3rd. ed., Chapter 7.

James Q. Wilson, The Politics of Regulation, Chapter 10.

X. POLITICAL CONTROL OF THE BUREAUCRACY (Nov. 28-Dec. 2)

Basic

Seidman, Politics, Position, and Power, Chapters 3-5, and 8.

James Q. Wilson and Patricia Rachal, "Can the Government Regulate Itself?" Public Interest (Winter, 1977), pp. 3-14.

Halperin, Bureaucratic Politics, Chapters 13 and 15.

Graduate

R. Douglass Arnold, Congress and the Bureaucracy, Chapters 2-4, and 9.

George J. Stigler, "The Theory of Economic Regulation," in Stigler, The Citizen and the State (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 114-141.

XI. COPING WITH BUREAUCRATIC PROBLEMS (Dec. 5-16)

Basic

Size and Complexity

Aaron Wildavsky, The Politics of the Budgetary Process, 2nd. ed., (Little, Brown), Chapters 4 and 6.

National Journal (August 1, 1981), pp. 1382-1386.

Discretion

Theodore J. Lowi, The End of Liberalism, Chapter 10.

Jeffrey Prottas, People-Processing (Lexington Books), Chapter 2.

Malcolm W. Feeley and Austin D. Sarat, The Policy Dilemma (Univ. of

Minnesota Press), Chapter 1.

Constraints

Herbert Kaufman, *Red Tape* (Brookings), Chapters 1 and 2.

Charles L. Schultze, *The Public Use of Private Incentives* (all).

Graduate

Charles Wolf, Jr., "A Theory of Non-Market Failures," *Public Interest* (Spring, 1979), pp. 114-133.

Robert M. Spann, "Public versus Private Provision of Government Services," in Thomas E. Borcherding, ed., *Budgets and Bureaucrats* (Duke Univ. Press), Chapter 4.

University of Chicago
Political Science 279
Social Sciences 279
Spring Quarter 1984
Tu., Thu. 10:00-11:30

Ms. Theda Skocpol
Hours in SS 319: Tues. 2-3:30
or by app'tment in Pick 526
Phones: 962-8684 or 947-0593

REVOLUTIONS IN THE MODERN WORLD

This course surveys major theoretical perspectives that have been used by social scientists since the nineteenth century to interpret and explain revolutions. With the aid of the best available theories, we will examine a series of historical instances, ranging from the English Revolution of the seventeenth century, through the French, Russian, and Chinese Revolutions, to recent revolutions in post-colonial or "dependent" countries. Certain basic questions and themes will recur throughout the course:

- Why have major revolutions occurred relatively infrequently, and why at some times and places, but not others?
- What sorts of social changes and political conditions have brought about revolutionary outbreaks?
- What have revolutions actually changed, and have the changes been for better or worse?
- What roles have been played — in causing revolutions or shaping their outcomes -- by organized, self-conscious revolutionaries, and by popular revolts and political participation?
- What, if anything, can the study of past revolutions tell us about present and possible future revolutions?

Course Organization and Requirements

All students are expected to keep up with the readings and to attend lectures every Tuesday and Thursday. By the third week of class, informal discussion sections will be organized under the leadership of pairs of graduate students affiliated with the course. Students are urged to join one of these groups, and Ms. Skocpol will try to meet with each of them at least once during the quarter. There will be two five-page essays assigned during the quarter, one to be handed in on Monday, April 16 and the other on Monday, May 14. An in-class Final Examination will be based on six questions handed out in advance, of which three will actually appear on the exam. Students may prepare notes and outlines and bring them to the exam.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST

Week 1: What Causes Revolutions?

Lectures: Introduction to the Course (March 27)
Images of Social Change and the Origins of Revolutions (March 29)

Readings: Jack Goldstone, "The Comparative and Historical Study of Revolutions," *Annual Review of Sociology* 8 (1982): 187-207.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," pp.469-500 in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, edited by Robert Tucker.

Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, pp.264-300.

Charles Tilly, "Does Modernization Breed Revolution?" *Comparative Politics* 5 (1973): 425-47.

Optional: Chalmers Johnson, *Revolutionary Change*, chapters 1-5.

Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (skim for main ideas).

Charles Tilly, "Revolutions and Collective Violence," pp.483-555 in *Handbook of Political Science*, volume 8, edited by Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby.

Week 2: What Do Revolutions Change, and Why?

Lectures: Classes and Vanguards in Revolutions (April 3)
Social Change and the Question of the State (April 5)

Readings: Erik Olin Wright, "To Control or Smash Bureaucracy," Weber and Lenin on Politics, the State and Bureaucracy," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 19 (1974-75): 69-108.

Michael Walzer, "A Theory of Revolutions," *Marxist Perspectives* (Spring 1979): 30-44.

James Scott, "Hegemony and the Peasantry," Politics and Society 7 (1977): 267-96.

Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, pp.300-43.

Optional: Nikolai Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?" and "State and Revolution," in The Lenin Anthology, edited by Robert Tucker.

Jerome Karabel, "Revolutionary Contradictions: Antonio Gramsci and the Theory of Intellectuals," Politics and Society 6 (1976): 123-72.

Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," pp.196-244 in From Max Weber, edited by Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills.

Robert Michels, Political Parties.

Week 3: The English Revolution and Its Legacies

Lectures: The Nature and Causes of the English Revolution (April 10)
The English Revolution and Liberal Democracy (with some comments on the American Revolution) (April 12)

Readings: Michael Walzer, "Puritanism as a Revolutionary Ideology," History and Theory 3 (1963): 59-90.

Lawrence Stone, The Causes of the English Revolution.

Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, chapter 1.

SHORT ESSAY ASSIGNMENT DUE IN SS 319 BY NOON ON MONDAY, APRIL 16

Week 4: Revolutions from Above and Below

Lectures: Bureaucratic Monarchies and Agrarian Classes in a Modernizing World (April 17, 19)

Readings: Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, chapters 2 and 3.

Ellen Kay Trimberger, "A Theory of Elite Revolutions," Studies in Comparative International Development 7 (1972): 191-207.

Week 5: Social Conflicts and Revolutionary Outcomes in France

Lectures: *Sans Culottes* and Jacobins (April 24)
Was the French Revolution "Bourgeois"? (April 26)

Readings: Albert Soboul, *The Sans Culottes* (pages to be announced).

Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, chapter 2.

J.F. Bosher, *French Finances 1700-1795: From Business to Bureaucracy*, Introduction, chapter 15, and Conclusion.

T.J.A. LeGoff and D.M.G. Sutherland, "The Revolution and the Rural Community in Eighteenth-Century Brittany," *Past and Present* no.62 (1974): 96-119.

Week 6: Social Conflicts and Revolutionary Outcomes in Russia

Lectures: Industrial Workers and Bolsheviks (May 1)
The Stalinist "Revolution from Above" (May 3)

Readings: Teddy J. Uldricks, "The 'Crowd' in the Russian Revolution," *Politics and Society* 4 (1974): 397-413.

Paul Avrich, "The Bolshevik Revolution and Workers' Control in Russian Industry," *Slavic Review* 22 (1963): 47-63.

John Ellis, "The Russian Civil War of 1917-1920," chapter 7 in *Armies in Revolution*.

Alvin Gouldner, "Stalinism: A Study of Internal Colonialism," *Political Power and Social Theory*, volume 1 (1980): 209-59.

Week 7: Social Conflicts and Revolutionary Outcomes in China

Lectures: The Chinese Communists and Peasant-based Guerilla Warfare (May 8)
The Contradictions of the Chinese "New Regime" (May 10)

Readings: Mark Selden, *The Yenan Way in Revolutionary China* (pages to be announced).

Thomas Bernstein, "Leadership and Mass Mobilisation in the Soviet and Chinese Collectivisation Campaigns of 1929-30 and 1955-56: A Comparison," *The China Quarterly* no.31 (1967): 1-47.

Martin King Whyte, "Bureaucracy and Modernization in China: The Maoist Critique," *American Sociological Review* 38 (1973): 149-63.

SHORT ESSAY ASSIGNMENT DUE IN SS 319 BY NOON ON MONDAY, MAY 14

Weeks 8 and 9: Social Revolutions and National Assertion in Postcolonial or "Dependent" Countries

Lectures: An Overview of the Issues (May 15)
Guest Lecture (topic to be announced) (May 17)
The Iranian Revolution (May 22)
What Difference Do Great Powers Make? (May 24)

Readings: Eric Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*, chapters on Mexico and Vietnam.

John Dunn, *Modern Revolutions*, chapters on Mexico and Vietnam.

Theda Skocpol, "Rentier State and Shi'a Islam in the Iranian Revolution," *Theory and Society* 11 (1982): 265-84.

Kosmos Tsokhas, "The Political Economy of Cuban Dependence on the Soviet Union," *Theory and Society* 9 (1980): 319-62.

Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America*, especially Introduction and chapters 1, 2, and 4.

Week 10: Revolution against State-Socialism?

Lecture: Workers, Church, and Communist Bonapartism in Poland (May 29)
Optional Review Session on the Whole Course (May 31)

FINAL EXAMINATION IN THE FIRST WEEK OF JUNE

Spring Term, 1983

Meetings: Tuesday, Thursday
10:35 rm 9-248

Instructor: David Stark

Office: Sociology Bldg. 260
684-2625
Office hours: Tues. 3-5

Duke University
Sociology 180

MODERN REVOLUTIONS

Requirements: Lectures will be given on Tuesdays; the Thursday meeting will be devoted to discussion of the readings. Informed participation in the weekly discussion is encouraged and will count as a substantial part of each person's final grade. A mid-term exam will be given on March 3. A short paper responding to the readings in the second part of the course will be assigned in the final weeks of the term. There will be no final exam. A final term paper (c.20 pp) is required. Paper topics must be approved prior to March 15. Students may examine a case not addressed in the course or focus on one or more of the revolutions covered here. In either case emphasis should be placed on integrating theoretical problems, historical cases, and reading materials discussed in the seminar. Comparative projects are encouraged.

Week of: * required readings

Jan 11 Introduction

I. Theoretical Approaches

Jan. 13 A. Recent sociological theories of revolution

* Theda Skocpol, "Explaining Revolutions: In Quest of a Social-Structural Approach," in Lewis Coser (ed) The Uses of Controversy in Sociology, pp. 155-175.

A.S. Cohan, Theories of Revolution.

Jack Goldstone, "The Comparative and Historical Study of Revolutions," Annual Review of Sociology, 1982: 187-207.

Charles Tilly, From Mobilization to Revolution.

Jan. 18 B. Marx and Weber on classes and the state.

* Anthony Giddens, "Historical Materialism," and "The Relations of Production and Class Structure," in Capitalism and Modern Social Theory.

* Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in Tucker (ed) Marx-Engels Reader, pp. 469-500.

* Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," in H. Gerth and C.W. Mills, (eds) From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, pp. 196-244.

II. From Agrarian Bureaucracies to Modern States: France, Russia, and China.

Jan. 25 A. *Crises of the old regimes.*

* Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, pp. 3-157.

* George Taylor, "Noncapitalist Wealth and the Origins of the French Revolution," *American Historical Review* 72(2) Jan. 1967: 469-496.

* Albert Soboul, "Classes and Class Struggles during the French Revolution," *Science and Society* 17(5) Summer 1953: 238-257

Marc Ferro, "The Russian Soldier in 1917: Undisciplined, Patriotic, and Revolutionary," *Slavic Review* 30(3) Sept. 1971: 483-512.

Alexander Rabinowitch, "The Petrograd Garrison and the Bolshevik Seizure of Power," in A. Rabinowitch and J. Rabinowitch (eds) *Revolution and Politics in Russia*, pp. 172-191.

Albert Feuerwerker, *Rebellion in Nineteenth Century China*.

Feb. 1 B. *Revolutionary processes.*

* Theda Skocpol, *SSR*, pp. 161-284.

* Paul Avrich, "Russian Factory Committees in 1917," in *Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas* 11(2) June 1963: 161-182.

* Paul Avrich, "The Bolshevik Revolution and Workers' Control in Russian Industry," *Slavic Review* 22(1) March 1963: 47-63.

Albert Soboul, *The Sans Culottes*.

Mark Selden, *The Yenan Way*.

Feb. 8 C. *Outcomes*

* Skocpol, *SSR*, pp. 284-293.

* Thomas Bernstein, "Leadership and Mass Mobilization in the Soviet and Chinese Collectivization Campaigns," *The China Quarterly* #31 July-Sept. 1967: 1-47.

* Martin King Whyte, "Bureaucracy and Modernization in China: The Maoist Critique," *American Sociological Review* 38(2) April 1973: 149-163.

Norma Diamond, "Collectivization, Kinship, and the Status of Women in Rural China," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 7(1) Jan-Mar 1975: 25-32.

Janet Salaff and Judith Merkle, "Women and Revolution: The Lessons of the Soviet Union and China," in Marilyn Young (ed) *Women in China*, pp. 179-192.

III. Theories of Revolution Reconsidered.

Feb. 15 A. Leadership and organization.

* Michael Schwartz, Radical Protest and Social Structure (pages to be assigned).

* Franz Schurmann, Ideology and Organization in Communist China, pp. 105-18, 128-40, 162-67.

Feb. 22 B. Intellectuals and ideology (I).

* Michael Walzer, "A Theory of Revolutions," Marxist Perspectives Spring 1979: 30-44.

* Jerome Karabel, "Revolutionary Contradictions: Antonio Gramsci and the Theory of Intellectuals," Politics and Society 6(2) 1976: 123-172.

* John Dunn, "The Success and Failure of Modern Revolutions," in Seweryn Bialer (ed) Strategies and Impact of Contemporary Radicalism vol 3, pp. 83-114.

John M. Cammett, Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism, pp. 65-122.

James Scott, "Hegemony and the Peasantry," Politics and Society (Summer 1977).

Mar. 1 C. Intellectuals and ideology (II).

* George Konrad and Ivan Szelenyi, The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power (pages to be assigned).

Alvin Goulder, "Prologue to a Theory of Revolutionary Intellectuals," Telos #26 Winter 1975-76:3-36.

Alfred Stepan, The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective.

Mar. 3 Mid-term exam

IV. Post-Colonial Revolutions.

Mar. 15 A. Yugoslavia

* John Dunn, "Yugoslavia," Modern Revolutions.

* Bogdan Denitch, The Legitimation of a Revolution, pp. 29-54, 82-104, 149-184.

* Dennison Rusinow, The Yugoslav Experiment, pp. 1-80.

A. Ross Johnson, The Transformation of Communist Ideology. The Yugoslav Case, 1945-53.

Mar. 22 B. Cuba

* John Dunn, "Cuba" and "Vietnam," in Modern Revolutions.

* Kosmas Tsokhas, "The Political Economy of Cuban Dependence on the Soviet Union," Theory and Society 9(2) March 1980: 319-362.

* Gerard Chaliand, Revolution in the Third World (pages to be assigned).

K. S. Karol, Guerrillas in Power.

Arthur MacEwan, Revolution and Economic Development in Cuba.

Nguyen Khac Vien, Tradition and Revolution in Vietnam.

V. Revolutions and Rebellions in a Changing Geo-Political Order.

Mar. 29 A. Iran: Crisis of the old regime and the process of revolution.

* Nikki Keddie, Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran, pp. 231-272.

* Ervand Abrahamian, Iran Between Two Revolutions, pp. 419-537.

* Said Amir Arjomand, "Shi'ite Islam and the Revolution in Iran," Government and Opposition 16(3) Summer 1981: 293-316.

Theda Skocpol, "Rentier State and Shi'a Islam in the Iranian Revolution," Theory and Society 11(3) May 1982: 265-284/

Michael Fischer, Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution.

April 5 B. Iran since the fall of the Shah.

* MERIP Reports, "Khomeini and the Opposition," (Special Issue) 12(3) #104, March-April 1982.

* Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Islamic Government.

April 12 C. Poland: 1970, 1976, 1980.

* Daniel Singer, The Road to Gdansk, pp. 157-195, 209-238.

* Ian Shapiro, "Fiscal Crisis of the Polish State," Theory and Society 10(4) July 1981: 469-502.

* Jean Woodall, "New Social Factors in the Unrest in Poland," Government and Opposition 16(1) Winter 1981: 37-57.

* Andrzej Wajda, Man of Marble (film).

Neil Acherson, The Polish August: The Self-Limiting Revolution.

April 12 continued

Bill Lomax, Hungary 1956.

Chris Harman, Bureaucracy and Revolution in Eastern Europe.

April 19 D. From the Gdansk agreements to the military coup.

- * Andrew Arato, "Empire vs. Civil Society: Poland 1981-82," Telos #51.
- * Jadwiga Staniszkis, "The Evolution of Forms of Working-Class Protest in Poland," Soviet Studies 33(2) April 1981.
- * Jadwiga Staniszkis, interview "The Self-Limiting Revolution." mimeo.

Recent documents from Poland.

Jiri Valenta, The Invasion of Czechoslovakia.

HISTORY/SOCIOLOGY 729: LARGE-SCALE POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS
FALL 1982 PRELIMINARY PLAN

University of Michigan Instructor: Charles Tilly

Large-Scale Political Transformations is a research seminar. It is meant for graduate students and postdoctoral researchers who already have a working familiarity with the literature of political change, who are undertaking serious inquiries of their own in the area, and who have an interest in historical analysis. The seminar will concentrate on connections among war, states, capitalism, and collective action.

The course will begin with a few weeks of orientation to the existing literature, using as points of departure THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL STATES IN WESTERN EUROPE, Charles Tilly, ed. (Princeton University Press, 1975); THE WAR LEDGER, by A.F.K. Organski & Jacek Kugler (University of Chicago Press, 1980), plus two working papers and a bibliography by Charles Tilly: "How One Kind of Struggle -- War -- Reshaped All Other Kinds of Struggle in Seventeenth-Century France", "Warmaking and Statemaking as Organized Crime", and "Selected Readings on Political Change: 1982 Version". From there the seminar will go to a discussion of research strategies and materials, with the study of Europe since the sixteenth century serving as the principal example.

From the fifth week of the seminar onward, students will present their own proposals, arguments, and findings for discussion. If members of the seminar so desire, we may also devote some of the later sessions to speakers from outside the group or to critical reviews of other writings on war, statemaking, the development of capitalism, and collective action.

The written work for the course will consist of a brief critical essay, an informal statement of research interests, a documented research proposal, and a formal report on the student's own research. With the permission of the instructor, students may do research and writing in collaboration with other members of the seminar.

The books are for sale at the Shaman Drum Bookshop, 313 S. State St., second floor. The working papers are for sale at the Center for Research on Social Organization, 330 Packard Street. We will circulate copies of the Cohen/Brown/Organski paper in class.

Two recent edited volumes include a number of papers which grew from research projects begun in past runnings of the seminar: John Merriman, ed., CONSCIOUSNESS AND CLASS EXPERIENCE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979); Louise A. Tilly and Charles Tilly, eds., CLASS CONFLICT AND COLLECTIVE ACTION (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1981).

HISTORY/SOCIOLOGY 729 (FALL 1982): COURSE SCHEDULE

13 September	Introduction to the course. Division of labor for later sessions.
20 September	The European Experience with War and States. READ: The Formation of National States in Western Europe, especially chapters 1 and 9; "How One Kind of Struggle — War — Reshaped All Other Kinds of Struggle in Seventeenth-Century France", and "Warmaking and Statemaking as Organized Crime". Review "Selected Readings on Political Change: 1982 Version".
27 September	War, States, and Collective Action. READ: The War Ledger, plus Youssef Cohen, Brian R. Brown, and A.F.K. Organski, "The Paradoxical Nature of State Making: The Violent Creation of Order," American Political Science Review 75: 901-910. Come prepared to advocate a general line of research to address the problems raised by the assigned readings. CRITICAL ESSAY DUE: A brief critique of one argument in the reading concerning a) the connections between warmaking and statemaking, b) the links between statemaking and collective action, c) statemaking and capitalism, d) the impact of capitalism on collective action OR e) one other important connection asserted or suggested by the literature. The critique may be theoretical, conceptual, empirical, or methodological. LIMIT: 1,000 words.
4 October	Research on War, States, Capitalism, and Collective Action. Come prepared to discuss your plans for research and writing in the seminar. INFORMAL STATEMENT OF RESEARCH INTERESTS DUE. In a page or less, identify the theoretical, conceptual, or technical issue in the study of social change and collective action on which you propose to work in the seminar, mention a body of evidence you propose to use, and state at least one link between your proposed effort and the problems raised by the course readings.
11 October on:	Student presentations.
6 December	Review of individual research projects and of course work. Course evaluation. FINAL PAPER DUE. This third paper is a report of 10,000 words or less, in article form including full bibliography, of the research you have undertaken for the seminar. The paper should include some discussion of theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and empirical problems; the balance among them depends on your topic. Negotiate an agreement with the instructor.

University of Chicago
Sociology 200
Mondays/Wednesdays 2-3:30
Social Sciences 105
Winter 1984

Instructor: Frederick Weil
Office hours: SS 326, Thur 2:30-4
or by appointment
962-8695; 363-6955 11 am - 10 pm

Social Structure and Change

Course Description:

Considers the nature of sociological accounts of important historical phenomena. Max Weber said that a sociological account provides a causal explanation and an interpretation of the significance of the phenomenon; and while this is a helpful guiding principle, we quickly find that a large variety of perspectives are compatible with it. We will consider several of the most important of these approaches at a theoretical level, and will then try to apply them to three important historical cases. The aim will not be to become experts on these cases, or even to arrive at definite answers, but rather to get a feel for asking relevent sociological questions and evaluating the adequacy of different kinds of analyses.

Course Requirements:

1. Presentation of at least two class reports (this may vary depending on the number of class participants), given in pairs. The reports should summarize the main questions posed by the readings and reflect briefly on how well they are answered. The reports should take no more than 10 minutes together, and each pair of students should turn in a 3-page summary of the report to the instructor at the class before the presentation, and also prepare a one-page (maximum) outline of their presentation which they should duplicate and distribute to the class at the time of the report. During the second part of the course, on empirical cases, reports should additionally include a causal diagram of the argument(s) from the readings; during the first part of the course, the instructor will prepare and distribute such diagrams.

2. An in-class midterm examination on February 1 on Part I of the course, including the Strasser and Randall book which we will not, however, discuss in class (see last page of reading list).

3. A final examination concentrating on Part II of the course, but also asking for reflections on theoretical questions.

Twenty percent of the final grade will be based on the student's report and general class participation; thirty percent on the midterm exam; and fifty percent on the final exam.

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Frederick Weil

Sociology 200: Social Structure and Change

Reading List

PART I: SOCIAL THEORIES OF HISTORICAL CHANGE

1. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

Jan. 9 "Manifesto of the Communist Party," pp. 469-500 in R. C. Tucker, The Marx-Engels Reader, 2nd ed.

"On the Accumulation of Capital" (Part 8 of Capital, vol. 1), pp. 1226-1253 in T. Parsons, et al., Theories of Society.

Jan. 11 Preface of "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," pp. 3-6 in Tucker.

"The German Ideology, Part I," pp. 146-200 in Tucker.

2. Max Weber

Jan. 16 General Economic History, ch. 22, 26-30.

Jan. 18 The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, pp. 88-118, 324-392.

3. Talcott Parsons

Jan. 23 "An Outline of the Social System," pp. 30-79 in Theories of Society.

Jan. 25 "Comparative Studies and Evolutionary Change," pp. 97-139 in Ivan Vallier, ed., Comparative Methods in Sociology.

4. Logic of Historical Sociology

Jan. 30 Arthur Stinchcombe, Constructing Social Theories, pp. 57-130.

Arthur Stinchcombe, Theoretical Methods in Social History, ch. 1; skim ch. 4.

Seymour Martin Lipset, "History and Sociology: Some Methodological Considerations," pp. 20-58 in S. M. Lipset and Richard Hofstadter, Sociology and History: Methods.

Albert O. Hirschman, "The Search for Paradigms as a Hindrance to Understanding," pp. 342-360 in A Bias for Hope.

Recommended: Robert Nisbet, Social Change and History, ch.3-6.

Feb. 1 MID-TERM EXAM -- in class

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PART II: THREE EMPIRICAL CASES

1. The Causes and Effects of Industrialization In England

Feb. 6 E. P. Thorpson, The Making of the English Working Class, Preface, ch. 6, 10, 11; skim ch. 7-9.

Recommended:

Tom Kemp, Industrialization in 19th Century Europe, ch. 1, 2.

Feb. 8 Neil Smelser, Essays in Sociological Explanation, ch. 4, 6.

Neil Smelser, Social Change in the Industrial Revolution, ch. 14.

Recommended:

Neil Smelser, Social Change in the Industrial Revolution, ch. 9-11.

Chapters 27-28 by W. W. Rostow and Wilbert E. Moore, in Amitai Etzioni and Eva Etzioni-Halevy, eds., Social Change.

Feb. 15 Reinhard Bendix, Work and Authority in Industry, ch. 1, 2, 7.

2. Explaining the Rise of Nazism in Germany

Feb. 17 (FRIDAY)
M. Rainer Lepsius, "From fragmented party democracy to government by emergency decree and National Socialist takeover: Germany," ch. 2 in Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Europe.

Feb. 20 Pierre Aycoberry, The Nazi Question, ch. 4, 5, 9, and pp. 119-127, 199-208.

Feb. 22 Talcott Parsons, "Democracy and social structure in pre-Nazi Germany," "Some sociological aspects of the fascist movements," "The problem of controlled institutional change," "Certain primary sources and patterns of aggression in the social structure of the Western world," ch. 6, 7, 12, 14 in Essays in Sociological Theory, revised edition.

Feb. 27 Franz Neumann, "Anxiety and politics," ch. 11 in The Democratic and Authoritarian State.

Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, expanded edition (1981), ch. 5 and pp. 488-503.

Recommended:

Ralf Dahrendorf, Society and Democracy in Germany, ch. 24-25.

Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, ch. 8.

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3. Explaining Racial and Ethnic Differences in America

Feb. 29 Thomas Sowell, Ethnic America, ch. 1, 11.

Stephan Steinberg, The Ethnic Myth, ch. 4, 8.

Mar. 5 William Julius Wilson, The Declining Significance of Race, second edition, ch. 1, 7, 8.

Recommended:

Edna Bonacich, "Advanced capitalism and black/white race relations in the United States: a split labor market interpretation," American Sociological Review 41 (Feb. 1976), pp. 34-51; and "Abolition, the extension of slavery, and the position of free blacks: a study of split labor markets in the United States, 1830-1863," American Journal of Sociology 81, 5, pp. 601-628.

Mar. 7 Stanley Lieberson, A Piece of the Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants since 1880, ch. 1, 12.

ASSIGNED BACKGROUND READING (for the midterm exam)

Hermann Strasser and Susan Randall, An Introduction to Theories of Social Change, ch. 2-4; skim ch. 5-7.

(We will not discuss this book in class.)

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Themes for Next Meeting

Jan. 9 - Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

- Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto as - among other things - a general introduction and summary of their theories of historical change; and part 8 of Capital, "On the Primitive Accumulation of Capital," was one of the relatively small number of concrete histories they wrote to apply their theories.

- In The Communist Manifesto note especially the following features.
  - What does it mean when they say that history consists of class struggle? See whether they and other Marxists maintain this assertion throughout their empirical historical writings.
  - What is their theory of the State, and what is the importance of politics? What is their attitude toward capitalism? (It is not simply hostile.)
  - Note their reasons for predicting a proletarian revolution. Why do they also predict class polarization, and what are their characterizations of other classes?

- Pay very close attention to agency and causation in "On the Primitive Accumulation of Capital:" which historical actors (generally, but not always, classes) were doing what to whom and with what effect.
  - Exactly what role did the newly emerging industrial capitalist mode of production play in making the landed masses available as industrial workers?
  - Marx says in the Communist Manifesto that the state is controlled by the ruling class. In whose interests was legislation enacted against vagabondage? In whose interests were colonial, debt, tax, and protection policies (p. 1242ff) carried out? Where was the capitalist class at this time? What is the role of force?
  - What is the relationship of agricultural growth to industrial growth? Where do domestic markets come from? Where do consumers come from?
  - What is the predicted role for the proletariat (see pp. 1247ff)? What is the importance of the concentration of workers in one place, of the development of a world market, of the constant reduction in the number of capitalists?
  - In their theory of colonization, note how the laws of market- or capitalist society do not come into play as long as there is an open frontier.

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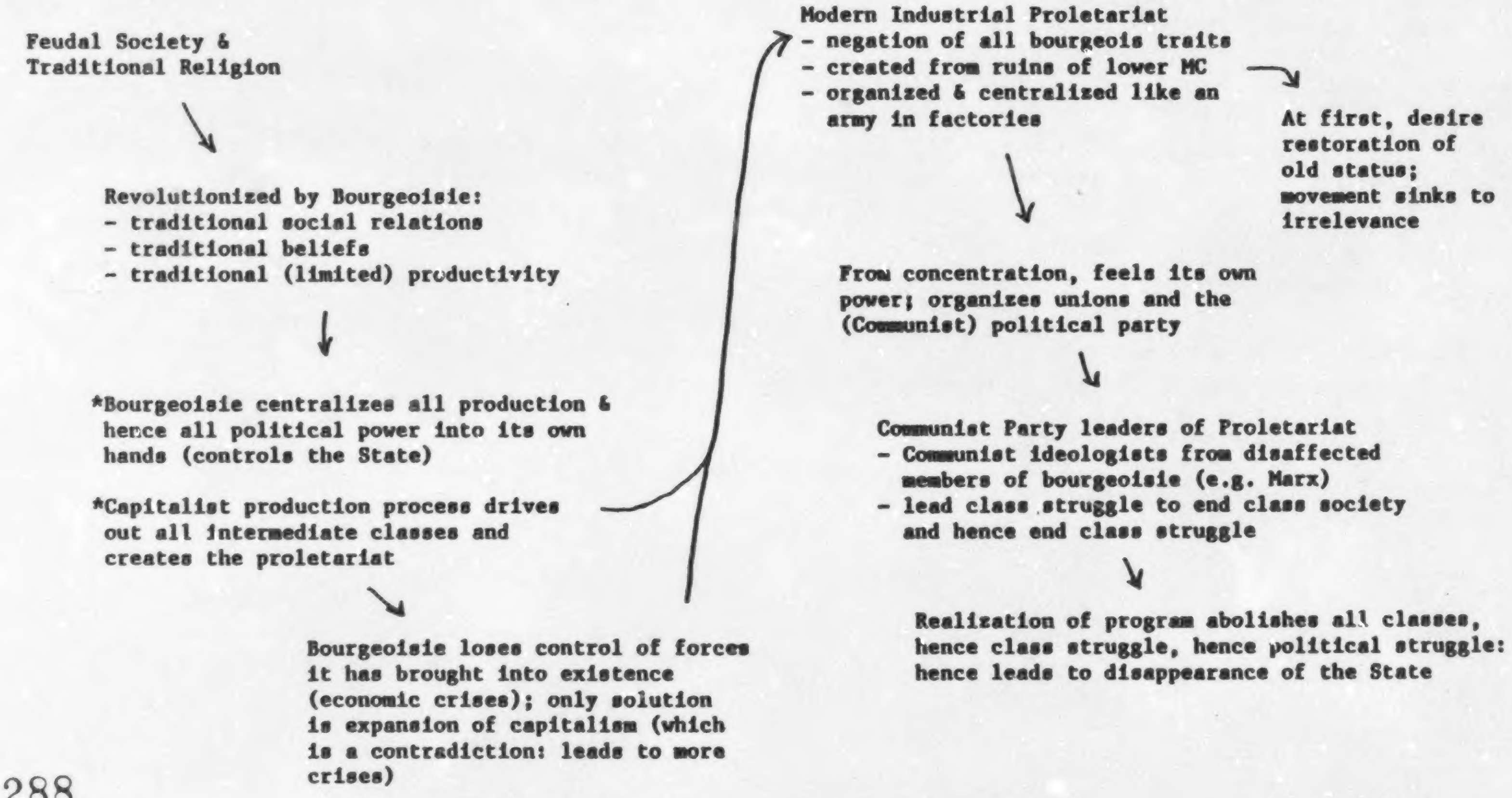
Diagram of Argument in Marx & Engels' Communist Manifesto

Sociology 200, Winter 1984

Premises - History is the history of class struggle
- Class struggle is political struggle, & the State is the means of oppression of the dominant class
- Ideas come from material conditions



Feudal Society &
Traditional Religion

Revolutionized by Bourgeoisie:
- traditional social relations
- traditional beliefs
- traditional (limited) productivity

*Bourgeoisie centralizes all production & hence all political power into its own hands (controls the State)

*Capitalist production process drives out all intermediate classes and creates the proletariat

Bourgeoisie loses control of forces it has brought into existence (economic crises); only solution is expansion of capitalism (which is a contradiction: leads to more crises)

Modern Industrial Proletariat
- negation of all bourgeois traits
- created from ruins of lower MC
- organized & centralized like an army in factories

At first, desire restoration of old status; movement sinks to irrelevance

From concentration, feels its own power; organizes unions and the (Communist) political party

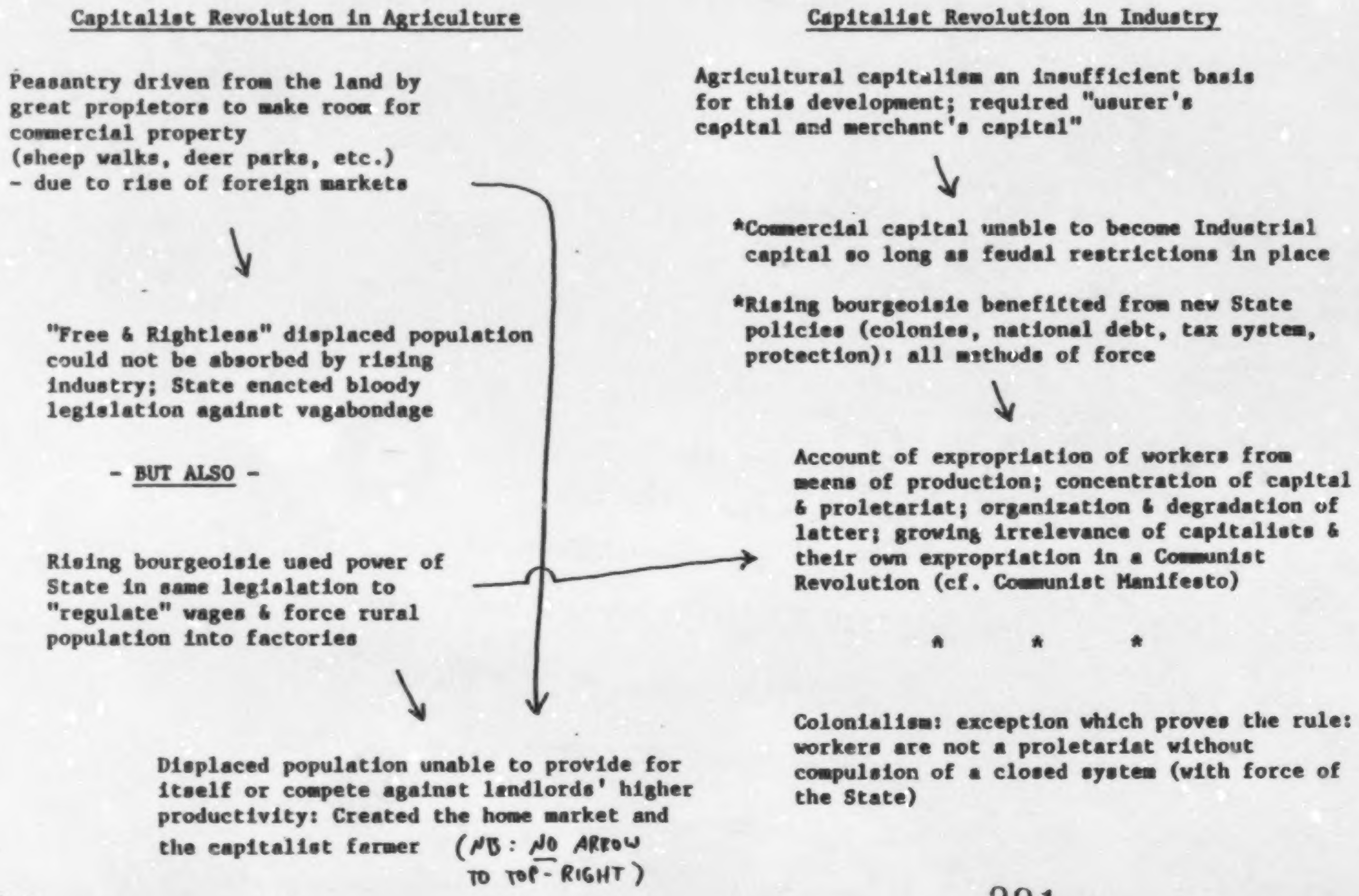
Communist Party leaders of Proletariat
- Communist ideologists from disaffected members of bourgeoisie (e.g. Marx)
- lead class struggle to end class society and hence end class struggle

Realization of program abolishes all classes, hence class struggle, hence political struggle: hence leads to disappearance of the State

Diagram of Argument in Marx's "So-Called Primitive Accumulation"
(Part 8 of Capital, vol. I)

Sociology 200, Winter 1984

Premises - Capitalist accumulation depends on non-capitalist ("previous:" A. Smith) accumulation. This is accomplished by force and the expropriation of original producer from his means of production.
- Example of England



Capitalist Revolution in Agriculture

Peasantry driven from the land by great propietors to make room for commercial property
(sheep walks, deer parks, etc.)
- due to rise of foreign markets

"Free & Rightless" displaced population could not be absorbed by rising industry; State enacted bloody legislation against vagabondage

- BUT ALSO -

Rising bourgeoisie used power of State in same legislation to "regulate" wages & force rural population into factories

Displaced population unable to provide for itself or compete against landlords' higher productivity: Created the home market and the capitalist farmer (NB: NO ARROW TO TOP-RIGHT)

Capitalist Revolution in Industry

Agricultural capitalism an insufficient basis for this development; required "usurer's capital and merchant's capital"

*Commercial capital unable to become Industrial capital so long as feudal restrictions in place

*Rising bourgeoisie benefitted from new State policies (colonies, national debt, tax system, protection): all methods of force

Account of expropriation of workers from means of production; concentration of capital & proletariat; organization & degradation of latter; growing irrelevance of capitalists & their own expropriation in a Communist Revolution (cf. Communist Manifesto)

* * *

Colonialism: exception which proves the rule: workers are not a proletariat without compulsion of a closed system (with force of the State)

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Themes for Next Meeting

Jan. 11 - Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

- The The German Ideology and the "Preface" to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy contain Marx and Engels' theory of history and historical change, and also some elements of a theory of the concrete, empirical course of history (the Communist Manifesto and Capital contained more material on the latter). Be sure to understand both aspects.
    * On their theory of history, note especially these features: the basis of human activity in labor; the relationship of the forces of production to the relations of production and how their interaction drives history forward (their terminological consistencies may cause some confusion here, but see pp. 4-5, 180, 192-6); the sources of consciousness in this dynamic; and the progressive cycle of revolutions which results from this process - and Marx and Engels' teleological predictions of the ends of history.
    * Their empirical history may be found mainly on pp. 151-4 and 176-86. How do changes in property relations and class relations fit into their general theory referred to above? Follow the stages of development closely. Note that they also refer to the origins of classes: what are these origins in civil society and how does this square with their assertion that all of history is the history of class struggle?
    * What are the precise reasons Marx and Engels give for predicting a proletarian revolution? (See pp. 161f, 172f, 192f, 197f, and the writings from last meeting.) Note their sketch of communist society (p. 160), which is unique in their writings. Why is the State an illusory community?

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Diagram of Argument in Marx's German Ideology & "Preface" to Contribution to Critique

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Functional Hierarchy (bottom to top)

Superstructure

Law, politics, & the State;
Consciousness; etc.

↑

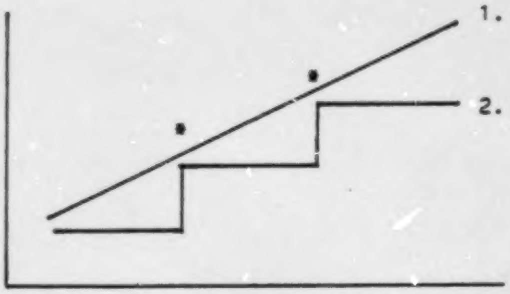
(Property) relations of production

↑

Base Structure

Given material conditions of production: (1) the satisfaction of needs by certain technical means (2) creates new needs (& thereby, history): in particular (3) the family, & (4) social relations of production.

Historical Dialectic

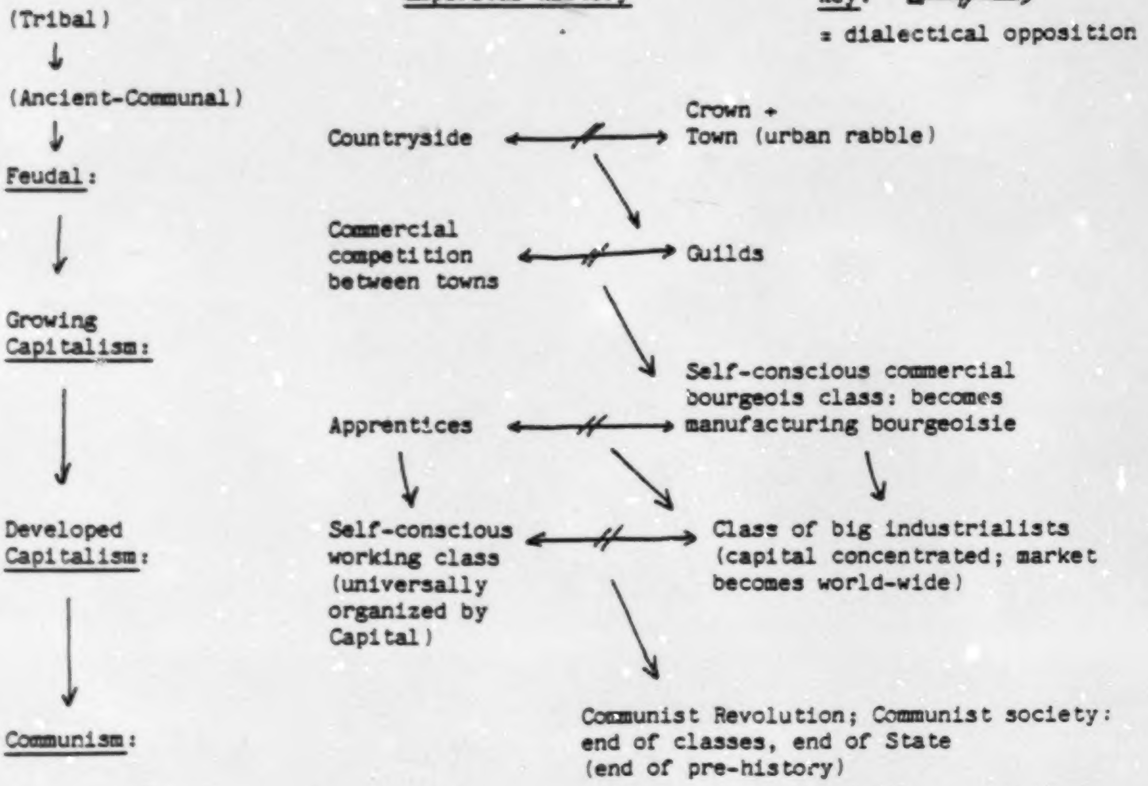


Historical time --->

1. Forces of production continually devel.
2. Relations of production + superstructure lag, become fetters to further devel. of productive forces, & must continually be revolutionized (at *)

Empirical History

key: ←//→ = dialectical opposition



(Tribal)

↓

(Ancient-Communal)

↓

Feudal:

Countryside ←//→ Crown + Town (urban rabble)

↓

Commercial competition between towns ←//→ Guilds

↓

Growing Capitalism:

Apprentices ←//→ Self-conscious commercial bourgeois class: becomes manufacturing bourgeoisie

↓

Developed Capitalism:

Self-conscious working class (universally organized by Capital) ←//→ Class of big industrialists (capital concentrated; market becomes world-wide)

↓

Communism:

Communist Revolution; Communist society: end of classes, end of State (end of pre-history)

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Themes for Next Meeting

Jan. 16 - Max Weber

- Weber's General Economic History is his most complete account of the origins of capitalism, and it incorporates the more familiar account from his Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism - and the explanation of capitalism's religious origins now becomes only one component of a more general explanation. Likewise, in contrast to Marx, Weber takes full account of the political factors in economic development.
- Note the elements of Weber's definition of capitalism (there are six of them). Which of them are most central?
- Note also, and more especially, the factors in the development of capitalism. Which of these were most important?
    * Weber dismisses colonial policy as a major factor: why?
    * Marx says that technology was not a major cause of the emergence of industrial capitalism. Does Weber agree? (He devotes a whole chapter to the question.)
    * There are two chapters on political factors, one on citizenship and one on the rational state. Be sure to follow Weber's account of the connections between citizenship, urbanism, and military history closely. On the rational state, Weber recognizes that mercantilism was perhaps the most "rational" economic state policy - but he knows, following Adam Smith, that this was not the most "rational" form of capitalism. What is he trying to say?
    * The last chapter is a reformulation of his argument from The Protestant Ethic. What is the "spirit" of capitalism, and how important is it compared to the other factors discussed? What does Weber say the role of the Jews was? Note here the distinction between internal and external ethics, which is crucial for understanding his argument. Also follow closely his account of worldly asceticism.

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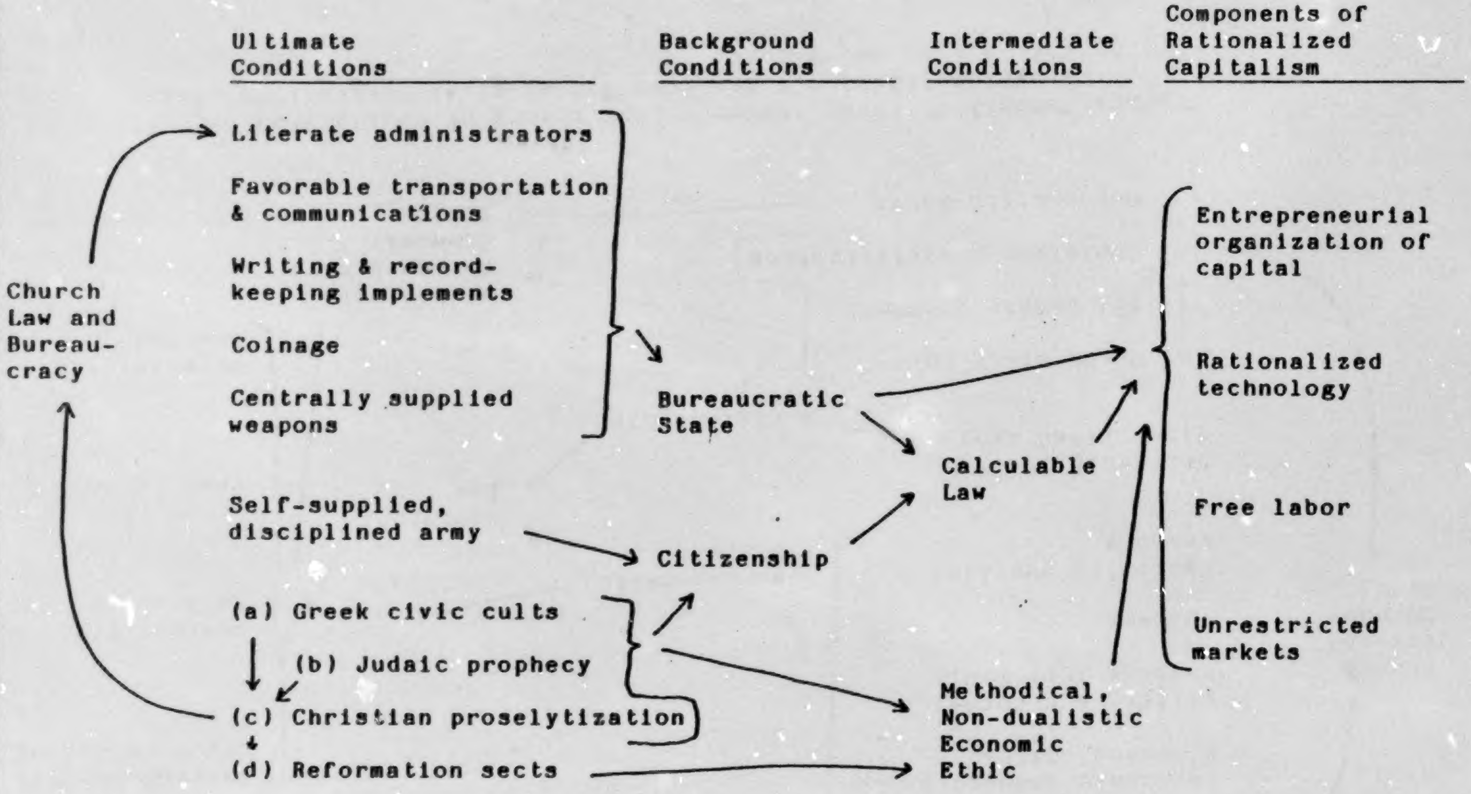
Diagram of Argument in Max Weber's General Economic History, Part IV

Sociology 200, Winter 1984


Ultimate Conditions
Background Conditions
Intermediate Conditions
Components of Rationalized Capitalism
Literate administrators
Favorable transportation & communications
Writing & record-keeping implements
Coinage
Centrally supplied weapons
Church Law and Bureaucracy
Bureaucratic State
Calculable Law
Self-supplied, disciplined army
Citizenship
(a) Greek civic cults
(b) Judaic prophecy
(c) Christian proselytization
(d) Reformation sects
Methodical, Non-dualistic Economic Ethic
Entrepreneurial organization of capital
Rationalized technology
Free labor
Unrestricted markets

Source: Randall Collins, "Weber's last theory of capitalism: a systematization," *American Sociological Review* 1980 (Dec.), Vol. 45, 6, pp. 925-42.

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Themes for Next Meeting

Jan. 18 - Max Weber

- The readings for this meeting concern two points: (1) the nature of an historical sociological account, and (2) the forms of political or state domination (this is now the preferred translation of Weber's term, Herrschaft: see p. 324, note 2).

- Be sure to understand especially the following points in Weber's "Fundamental Concepts of Sociology."
    - Note the two component parts of sociology as a science (the German word for science, Wissenschaft, does not connote natural science as in English, but rather, systematic knowledge): interpretive understanding and causal explanation. Note further the ways in which these two are interconnected and the range of problems sociology confronts in trying to produce its accounts.
    - How does the sociological observer correctly understand the social actor's intentions? How does he assign meaning or causation to events or structures which are not the direct product of human intention (so-called "unintended consequences")? Is "false consciousness" possible, as Marxists (or Freudians) have used the term? How does he understand and explain the different types of social action, especially if they seem irrational to him?
    - What role do ideal types play? What are statistical regularities? Laws?

- You may remember the image of the Iron Cage from the last pages of The Protestant Ethic, which referred to the trap of rational compulsion under modern capitalism. It is clear, however, that Weber was also thinking of such rational compulsion under a rational state: bureaucracy is the feature common to both.
    - What is the nature of legitimacy? Does it refer to the rulers or the ruled? How is power different from authority? And how can one empirically decide what domination is legitimate? (Do the forms of social action or the principles of sociological method help at all here?)
    - Try to think of the three types of legitimate domination not only as an abstract typology but also as categories to be applied to an historical analysis.
    - What are Weber's views of revolution, of bureaucracy, of democracy?

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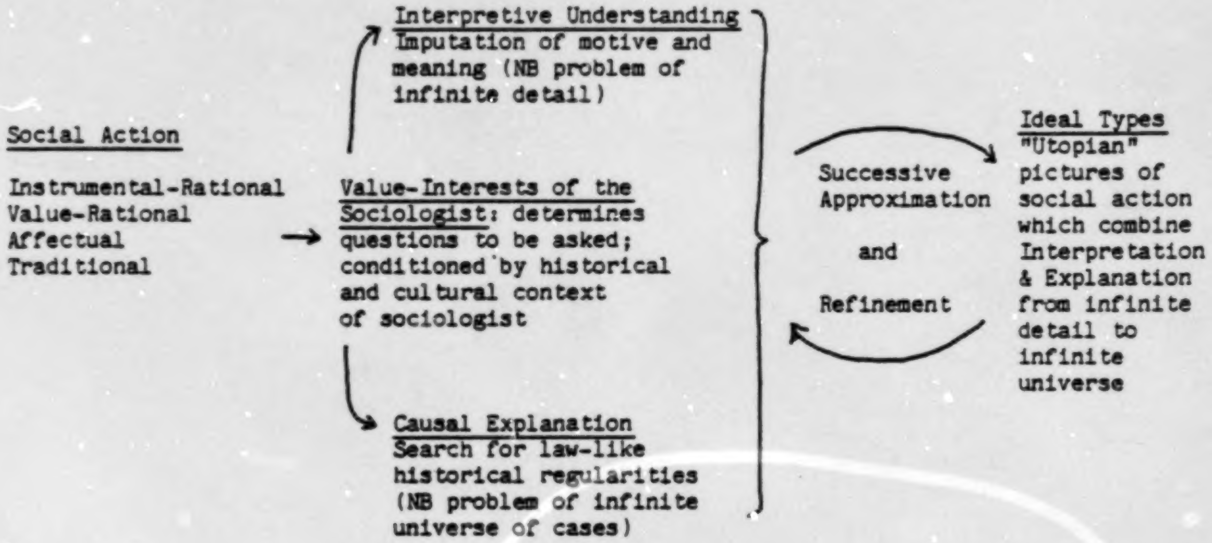
Diagrams of Arguments in Max Weber's "Basic Sociological Terms" and "Types of Legitimate Domination" from Social & Economic Organization (Economy & Society)

Sociology 200, Winter 1984

Science of Sociology (Systematic Sociological Knowledge)



Social Action

Instrumental-Rational
Value-Rational
Affectual
Traditional

Value-Interests of the Sociologist: determines questions to be asked; conditioned by historical and cultural context of sociologist

Interpretive Understanding
Imputation of motive and meaning (NB problem of infinite detail)

Causal Explanation
Search for law-like historical regularities (NB problem of infinite universe of cases)

Successive Approximation

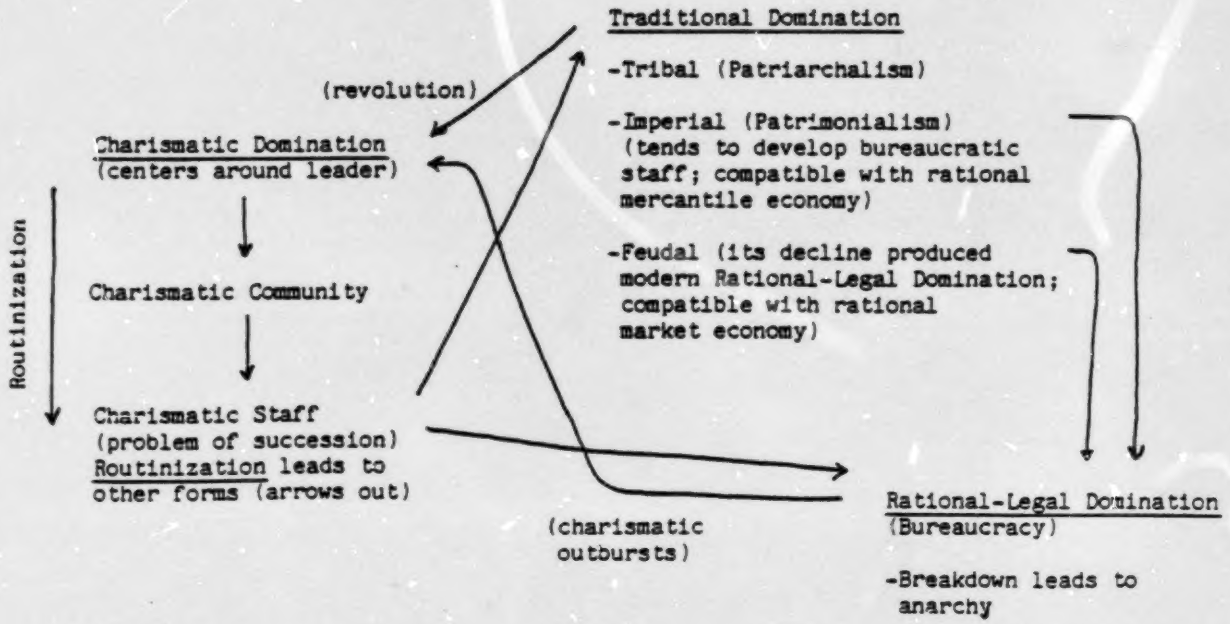
and

Refinement

Ideal Types
"Utopian" pictures of social action which combine Interpretation & Explanation from infinite detail to infinite universe

- -

Historical Tendencies of the Ideal Types of Legitimate Domination



Traditional Domination

-Tribal (Patriarchalism)

-Imperial (Patrimonialism) (tends to develop bureaucratic staff; compatible with rational mercantile economy)

-Feudal (its decline produced modern Rational-Legal Domination; compatible with rational market economy)

(revolution)

Charismatic Domination
(centers around leader)

Routinization

Charismatic Community

Charismatic Staff
(problem of succession)
Routinization leads to other forms (arrows out)

(charismatic outbursts)

Rational-Legal Domination
(Bureaucracy)

-Breakdown leads to anarchy

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Themes for Next Meeting

Jan. 23 - Talcott Parsons

- At first glance, it may be difficult to see that Parsons is interested in social change at all (see the discussion of this problem in the Strasser and Randall book), but he states his rationale at the beginning (p. 31): neither morphological nor dynamic analysis of society has priority over the other, but stable structural reference points are necessary for analyzing change. Furthermore, Parsons wants to distinguish processes of dynamic equilibrium from processes of social change. To understand his theories of social change, it will be necessary to understand both these distinctions.

- Parsons recognizes that any social analysis must begin with some feature as given, and for him, this is the system of values of a society; indeed, he calls the system of values itself the "social structure."
  - How does this approach compare with Marx's theories of the origins of values? With Weber's?
  - The primacy of values and norms is Parsons' approach to the question of how social order is possible in a large and diverse society (see p. 43); elsewhere, he attributes the identification of this problematic to Hobbes. How does he apply this approach to such questions as class and ethnic conflict, differential access to power or money, the position of the family and (perhaps implicitly) of women, the development of the economy, religion, the State?
  - What does he mean when he says that values must be institutionalized to have an effect?

- To understand Parsons' theories of dynamic equilibrium for our purposes, it is perhaps not necessary to understand his four-fold classification of social functions (see his table, p. 61) in full detail. However, do try to understand the logic of these processes: the idea of exogenous and endogenous, inputs and outputs, the process of resource processing, and the mechanisms which control resource processing.

- Parsons says that "The process of structural change may be considered the obverse of equilibrating process; the distinction is made in terms of boundary-maintenance" (p. 70).
  - Since he identifies structure with values, structural change means change in the value system. If the value system is given, how does this work?
  - It is perhaps easier to account for value change from exogenous sources in Parsons' theory; how does he attempt to address the above consideration with his theory of endogenous change stemming from "strains" between substructures? Does this force him to relinquish his image of society as a unitary entity?

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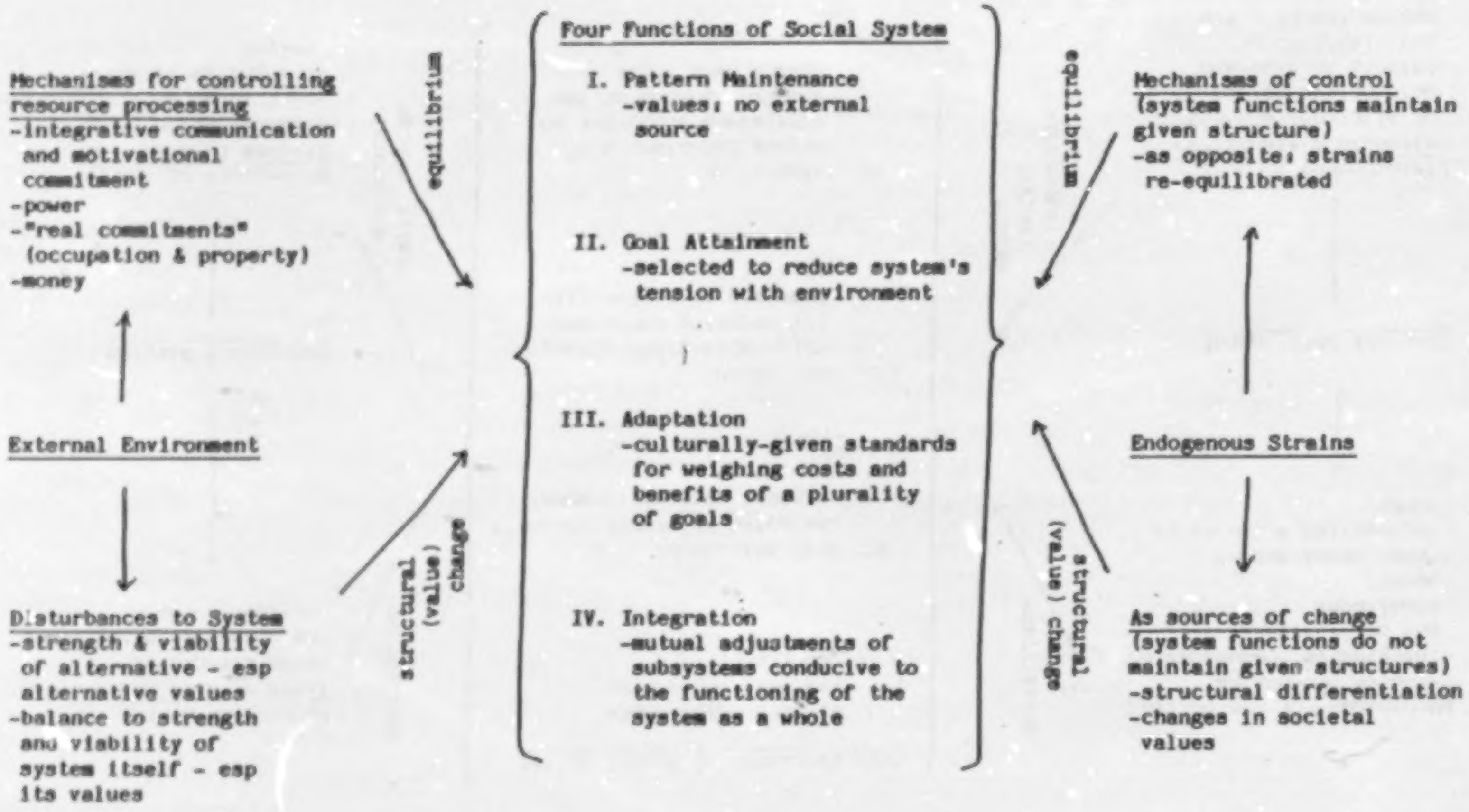
Diagram of Argument in Parsons' "Outline of the Social System"

Sociology 200, Winter 1984



Mechanisms for controlling resource processing
- integrative communication and motivational commitment
- power
- "real commitments" (occupation & property)
- money

External Environment

Disturbances to System
- strength & viability of alternative - esp alternative values
- balance to strength and viability of system itself - esp its values

Four Functions of Social System

I. Pattern Maintenance
- values; no external source

II. Goal Attainment
- selected to reduce system's tension with environment

III. Adaptation
- culturally-given standards for weighing costs and benefits of a plurality of goals

IV. Integration
- mutual adjustments of subsystems conducive to the functioning of the system as a whole

Mechanisms of control
(system functions maintain given structure)
- as opposite: strains re-equilibrated

Endogenous Strains

As sources of change
(system functions do not maintain given structures)
- structural differentiation
- changes in societal values

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Themes for Next Meeting

Jan. 25 - Talcott Parsons

- One of the keys to understanding Parsons' structural-func
  approach is to keep his remarks about the influence of bi
  evolutionism on him clearly in mind as you read his accou
  There are two primary points to note (and Parsons traces t
  back to the 19th century English sociologist, Herbert Spen
  (a) all units in the system are related since they all ste
  single source, and any comparisons must take this fact intc
  account; and (b) change or development proceeds by a proces
  (binary) functional differentiation and (re-) integration o
  within the system.
  * How does this compare to Marx's notions of holistic sys
    to his notions of class conflict (i.e., to conflict bet
    units of the system)?
  * How does it compare to Weber's comparative-historical
    method? Does Weber take a systems approach and thus ass
    that the units he is comparing are related or stem from t
    same source? How does Weber's methodological standpoint
    and the level of abstratction of his sociology - affect tl
    comparison?
- Note Parsons' remarks about the temporal order of functional
  differentiation: the sequence of development of political power,
  religious and cultural centers, and non-domestic economy from
  primitive, relatively undifferentiated societies.
  * Inasmuch as Parsons says economic differentiation came
    relatively late, is he disagreeing with Marx, who said that
    all of history must be explained in economic terms?
  * Note Parsons' account of the protest response to each level
    of economic "adaptive upgrading." How does this fit into his
    general theory of system equilibrium and structural change?
- Is there a contradiction in Parsons' account of value
  generalization? On one hand, values become more universalistic to
  cover the great functional variety in society; but on the other
  hand, increasingly universalistic values bring forth
  fundamentalist protest and further dogmatic assertion of
  universalistic values - a conflict which can only be resolved at a
  higher level of value generality.

Diagram of argument in Parsons's "Comparative Studies & Evolutionary Change"

Sociology 200, Winter 1984

Premises - Social change can be described on the model of biological evolution: there is a single genetic source, and change occurs by a process of functional differentiation and (re-) integration. Thus also, all societies are part of a single system, and all comparisons are of genetically and functionally related parts.

- The emergence of society and culture are coincident with the organic development of man.

Axes of Functional Differentiation
(from primitive society onwards)

1. Center-periphery (development of political power centers and religious & cultural priesthoods)
2. Kinship - or more generally, sense of belonging to a common group or people

* These dimensions held together by complementarity (cf. Durkheim's organic solidarity)

(Economic differentiation came later)

Societal Differentiation and (Re-) Inclusion

>NB "seedbed" societies: Israel & Greece; Christian European unity

>Inclusion of Germanic with Roman world; Reformation split along same lines

As society has become more functionally differentiated, **more general & universal values are needed to integrate it.**

-traditional religion

-denominational pluralism

-moral autonomy of individual
+ fundamentalist reaction

Adaptive Upgrading

>"Northwest" societies (England, Holland, U.S.) have taken lead here - NB: they are decentralized

>Economic adaptation:
- -development of nation-states with mercantilist policies (protest reaction led to legal aspects of citizenship)
- -industrial revolution (protest reaction led to political aspects of citizenship; later to welfare-state measures)
- -educational revolution (outcome of protest reaction still unclear)

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Themes for Next Meeting

Feb. 6 - The Causes and Effects of Industrialization In England: E. P. Thompson

- E. P. Thompson is one of the best-known living English Marxists, but he is a Marxist of a somewhat unorthodox and eclectic sort. He is engaged in a self-conscious effort to develop Marxist theory in order to overcome certain objections which have been made of its classical (19th and first half of the 20th century) forms, and to continue its polemic with its critics. We will want to understand in what ways he departs from or modifies classical Marxism, and also what elements he draws from other theories - and to ask whether in the end he remains recognizably a Marxist.

- We will want to focus on three factors in particular. First, how does Thompson define "class?" Study his remarks on pp. 9-11 closely.
    - Note how he uses the concepts historical, structural, category, relationship, consciousness.
    - What is the relationship between given structural situation, its development, consciousness of social position, and political action?

- The second thing to understand is his concept of "exploitation." What are the relations between its objective and subjective components as described in chapters 6-10?
    - The list of "grievences felt by working people" (emphasis added) on pp. 202-3 is crucial, as is his conclusion about living standards on pp. 211-2 and expanded on in ch. 10. You will want to compare his descriptions of subjective feeling with those of Smelser and Bendix (and note Thompson's polemic against the former).
    - One of the strongest objections to the Marxian position is that what is described as exploitation is actually the hardships of economic transition. This position is taken to a greater or lesser degree, as we will see, by Smelser and Bendix: what is Thompson's position?

- The third important factor to consider is Thompson's account of the effects of religion. (A fourth factor would be the political dimension, but we don't have time to consider that here.)
    - As you no doubt know, Marx characterized religion as the "opium" of the masses - that is, a distraction from real problems and their sources and solutions - while Weber considered it of real and central importance for economic outcomes. Where does Thompson stand on this question? How good are his Marxist credentials when he is finished - or has he changed the qualifications for Marxist credentials?
    - What does he mean by "psychic exploitation" (p. 375)? In what ways is religion a form of protest?

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Themes for Next Meeting

Feb. 8 - The Causes and Effects of Industrialization In England: Neil Smelser

- Smelser was a student and collaborator of Parsons and is therefore well placed to represent a Parsonsian position on the question of the Industrial Revolution. Moreover, it is helpful to read him since he lays out the distinctions between his own account and - especially - the Marxian account so clearly and sharply.

- While we have read criticisms of Parsons' method for being overly general and abstract, a careful reading of Smelser reveals a wealth of concrete hypotheses about English industrialization and suggestions for comparative analyses, centering around the idea of structural differentiation (see esp. ch. 6 of Essays).
  - Does Smelser depart from Weber's theory in the General Economic History - or from Marx's - that the development of industrial capitalism centrally entails the seperation of production from the household and the uniform introduction of rational calculation into economic relations?
  - Note the consequences of this element of differentiation: e.g., the family's loss of control over the education and upbringing of children (this is his central argument in Social Change), the growth of alternative centers of loyalty or community (nation, subculture, party or club).
  - What are the responses to the problems of development? What are traditionalism, uneven development (or lags), anomie? Note the possiblities for conflict he mentions on p. 141 of Essays and recall Parsons' comments about strains in the social system. What structural elements affect the emergence of protest and its chances of succeeding (as against being redirected or suppressed)? Note the very important concept that dissatisfaction may be displaced (in an almost Freudian sense) into activity which has no realistic chance of correcting the problem (see p. 142).

- Smelser's argument with Marx and the Marxists is that their concept of exploitation is too imprecise (he does not deny its existence or general effect): that it cannot sufficiently predict just when protest will break out.
  - What is Thompson's argument against this? Does he fill the gaps of which Smelser complains?
  - To what extent do the two theories actually contradict each other, and to what extent are they complementary, each specifying a different portion of the causal chain? (Be careful of facile synthesis: Smelser and Thompson both insist that there are contradictions between their theories.)
  - Smelser writes that "people come to be disturbed about inadequate performance in roles" (p. 81 of Essays). Is this an alternative to exploitation as a motive for protest?

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Themes for Next Meeting

Feb. 15 - The Causes and Effects of Industrialization In England: Reinhard Bendix

- In his Work and Authority in Industry, Bendix takes almost as explicitly a Weberian approach as Thompson did a Marxist and Smelser a Parsonsian - and his credentials for doing so are fully as good as theirs: his large book interpreting Weber's theories was one of the two most important in print before the renewed publication activity of recent years (the other was Parsons' own). On the other hand, Bendix is perhaps less explicit about what is so Weberian about his account. This is a matter we will want to explore.

- What is the significance of ideology in Bendix's account of the changes in English society during the time of the industrial revolution?
    - What are the points of similarity regarding the causal importance of ideology in socioeconomic development between Bendix and Weber? How does Bendix's treatment compare to Thompson's and Smelser's - and to Marx's and Parsons'?
    - Note Bendix's remarks about the relation of ideology to material change on pp. 88-89. What do you make of these?
    - Both Thompson and Smelser discuss the sources of protest in the subjective feelings of loss of status among the working classes. How do the ideological developments described by Bendix contribute to this? What were the ideological responses of the working classes?

- Although we are not reading Bendix's descriptions of the three other cases he examines (Russia, the United States, and East Germany), he does make a number of methodological observations - as well as substantive summary remarks - about his comparative-historical approach. Why does he argue that this approach is superior to the analysis of a single case? What can he discover in this way that he could not with a single case?

- One of the most interesting and important things which Bendix describes is the pattern of shifting alliances of the English aristocracy, industrialists, and workers - especially those surrounding the dispute over the Corn Laws. (You should look up a brief account of this dispute under "Corn Laws" in any historical encyclopedia for background: the entry in the 1930s Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences is very good and to the point.)
    - Are there permanent class interests? Long-term ones? What can be inferred about the nature of class interests if they vary by political or economic issue? Can one make a distinction between (long-term) class strategic- and (short-term) tactical alliances?

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Themes for Next Meeting

Feb. 17 - Explaining the Rise of Nazism in Germany:
M. Rainer Lepsius

- Rainer Lepsius is one of the most important German sociologists since World War II, but he is not as familiar to English-speaking readers as some others since he writes largely on German topics, and not much of his work has been translated. I have included Lepsius' essay on the fall of the Weimar Republic as a Weberian account, although his approach remains somewhat eclectic. (By the way, he is professor of sociology at Heidelberg, where Weber was located throughout most of his career.)

- Probably the most important concept in Lepsius' account is that of legitimacy. This is related to Weber's usage, but in certain ways it expands on it or departs from it. With legitimacy as the "dependent variable," Lepsius' argument lends itself especially well to being sketched as a causal diagram: trying to draw one is one of the best ways to understand his article. What did the legitimacy of the Weimar Republic consist of?
  * What was the "democratic potential," the political culture, the German character, the German value system? Does he use all these concepts as explanations? In what way was the party system an indicator of democratic potential?
  * In what ways did the party system institutionalize the democratic potential? How did the very structure of the party system - given certain value orientations - itself affect the legitimation of the Republic?
  * Why does Lepsius argue that the economic crisis alone was incapable of undermining the German democracy? How were different social segments nevertheless differentially affected by the crisis, and how did this affect their support for (legitimation of) the regime? Is this an implicit critique of Marxist theory?
  * In Lepsius' discussion of Hitler's charisma, does he add anything to Weber's concept? Note his description of Hitler's ability to withhold or deliver disorder, and the effect of this ability on the legitimacy of the Republic.

- Note carefully how Lepsius uses the concept of integration: citizens were integrated into certain organizational structures (churches, unions, professional, industrial, and regional associations, political parties) which expressed the interests of their social segments and anchored their political orientations.
  * Which citizens were most receptive to Nazi appeals (note that some support simply fell into their laps), and how does an analysis of integration help explain their rise and democracy's fall?
  * Is there any connection between this use of the concept of integration and that of Parsons and Smelser? (Recall the latter's discussion of the strains of modernization.)

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Themes for Next Meeting

Feb. 20 Explaining the Rise of Nazism in Germany: Pierre Aycoberry

- Whether or not Aycoberry himself is a Marxist (the *New York Times Book Review* seems to think he is, but I don't have that impression), he does present such a rich catalog or handbook of Marxist *arguments* that his book is appropriate as a source of Marxist perspectives on Nazism for our purposes. In fact, his summaries of other arguments are equally useful: this is a good place to look up a variety of theories of Nazism.

- Classical - and to a lesser extent, revisionist - Marxism has had great trouble explaining Nazism for a number of reasons, including the following. (a) The bourgeoisie seems to have given up or lost control of the state without a proletarian revolution: at the least, this seems to demonstrate a problematical autonomy of the political realm; at worst, a contradiction of orthodox Marxist assertions. (b) A mass-based revolutionary movement arose which was *not* based on the working class. (c) The (posited) middle-class mass base of Nazi support undermines Marx's prediction of class polarization and the disappearance of the middle classes under capitalism. How did Marxist theorists attempt to work around these problems? How seriously do you take what Aycoberry calls "the theory of agents" (p. 68)?
  - Note the summary of theories Aycoberry lists on p. 68 and the list of problematical theses on pp. 57-8. Many of the Marxists' answers centered on the "theory of Bonapartism:" what is this?
  - Some of the other Marxist theories concern stages of development of capitalism, and most of these seem to stem from Lenin's theories of imperialism. Try to see how these theories are used, and contrast them to the more (non-Marxist) Parsonsian developmental theories we have seen elsewhere.

- Clearly, much more could be explained if one relaxed Marx's dictums about class polarization; but it is unclear whether a class-based explanation using a number of classes remains Marxist.
  - In fact, the roots of the analyses of Geiger and others (ch. 5; more in ch. 9) can be traced to the "revisionist" debates within the Marxist German Social Democratic Party around the turn of the century. Be sure to follow these arguments.
  - Once a multi-class framework is accepted, very rich psychologically informed accounts are possible. How are the concepts of resentment, authoritarianism, and asyncronism used, and how are they connected to a (multi-) class analysis? You might look ahead to the descriptions of Parsons' and Fromm's theories (p. 100f; Neumann paralleled Fromm) for a perspective on the next weeks' readings.

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Themes for Next Meeting

Feb. 22 - Explaining the Rise of Nazism in Germany: Talcott Parsons

- As we saw last time, Aycoberry claims that Parsons was ten years too late in publishing his accounts of German Nazism to make any claims of originality in explaining it. He was anticipated by a host of European scholars, including Wilhelm Reich, Ernst Bloch, and other members of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research (and ignorance of the literature, like ignorance of the law, is perhaps no defence). However, even if his explanation remains derivative, (1) the theory itself is most important, and (2) we will want to see how it fits with Parsons' more general theory - and whether it fits equally well with Marxist or Weberian theory.

- The key to Parsons' theory probably lies in the concept of "anomie." What does this mean, and what does it explain? You will want to note carefully the relation between this concept and the concepts of status anxiety developed next time by Neumann, Lipset and Dahrendorf. Again, as Aycoberry notes, this group of theories are not really new with Parsons (even in their application to explaining the Nazi question), but we will want to see which author provides the most satisfactory formulation.
  - How does Parsons characterize pre-Nazi Germany? What is its social structure, and what are its values? Are these the source of Nazism: is Parsons developing a theory of the "German character" (which is perhaps an "authoritarian personality")? If they are not the direct source, how does their breakdown make the Germans particularly susceptible to anxiety?
  - How is anxiety related to hostility and aggression? Parsons' account is, of course, informed by Freudian theory (as were those of his antecedents), but he also cites certain factors from the social structure: how are these elements combined? Do you find Parsons' explanation of the target group of hostility (the Jews) convincing: why this and not other groups? (In fact, there were a number of other target groups: does Parsons account for this?)
  - How does Parsons combine his observations about German social structure and the general character of aggression to explain the attraction of certain strata of the German population to Nazism?

- Parsons' recommendations for the reconstruction of a democratic Germany were quite prescient. However, if he posits the primacy of the value system in his general theory, why does he not recommend that the victorious Allies address these values at their source (in schools, family structure, and political ideology), but rather direct their energies toward restructuring the economy? Is this an implicit admission of the primacy of the economy?

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Themes for Next Meeting

Feb. 27 - Explaining the Rise of Nazism in Germany: Franz Neumann, Seymour Martin Lipset; Ralf Dahrendorf, Barrington Moore

- The readings for this meeting combine a number of elements of explanation from the previous works we have read, but in many ways, they seem to vindicate aspects of Parsons' approach - even if, as Aycoberry notes, Parsons' own formulation was antedated by others with different orientations. Parsons' central thesis in this regard is that those sectors of society most dislocated by "modernization" (a term which must be further specified) were most prone (1) to be dis-integrated from their traditional political moorings, (2) to overlook the inconsistencies and problems in the Nazis' programmatic statements, and (3) to be attracted by the Nazis' "reactionary" appeal (this also must be specified). We will want to examine such qestions as these:
  - Was "modernization" in fact simply part of the process of capitalist development (a Marxist thesis)?
  - Which were the strata most dislocated, and what does dislocation mean here (e.g., anomie, unemployment, bankruptcy)?
  - Even if certain strata were dislocated, what made them susceptible to the particular Nazi appeal - not just to hostility and violence, but to the impracticability of Nazi programs in effectively solving their problems?

- Lipset's answers to these questions are fairly direct. What are they: who were the Nazi voters and why did they support the Nazis? Are the reasons he attributes to the Nazi supporters mainly economic?

- How does Neumann incorporate Freudian theory to explain the attraction of the Nazi supporters to aggression, hostility, and scapegoat theories? Does he succeed in relating these explanations to the findings of empirical voting research? (See also his footnotes 83 and 85 for further empirical references.) Do Neumann's or Lipset's accounts satisfy the criteria established by Lepsius for explaining Nazi success?

- Dahrendorf and Moore both work at a more explicitly systemic level. How do they explain dislocations? Note how they use concepts of uneven development - especially the idea that Germany had a capitalist economy but no bourgeois political hegemony (even before the rise of Nazism), and that the traditional landed upper classes combined with the discontented lower middle classes in protest against the dislocations of industrialization. Why does each author say the result was Nazism? How do they use value-orientations and class alliances as explanations? Who is more persuasive?

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Themes for Next Meeting

Feb. 29 - Explaining Racial and Ethnic Differences in America: Thomas Sowell and Stephan Steinberg

- Studies of racial and ethnic inequality in America sometimes shed more heat than light on the issue - and while I have tried to find analytical works from several points of view, the books we are reading this session are sometimes rather more polemical. Still, the authors do lay out the lines of debate about "cultural" causes of inequality clearly, and I think we will find a number of analytical arguments in them if we read closely.

- You may find it odd that the economist Thomas Sowell resorts to - seemingly - sociological cultural arguments to explain economic inequality. What are the components of his culturalist argument, and how does he relate cultural orientations to economic outcomes?
    - What is the theory of "human capital," associated with the economist Gary Becker (who is now also a member of our sociology department)? Becker usually spoke of human capital in terms of education or on-the-job training: how does Sowell make this concept a cultural attribute?
    - How does Sowell use cultural explanations to account for behavioral attributes which affect economic success, like hard work, thrift, risk-taking, etc.? And how does he use them to account for other factors, like differential migration patterns and discriminatory practices, which may mediate the direct effects of culture on economic behavior.

- Steinberg's two essays are polemics against culturalist explanations of the causes of poverty and of discrimination. His basic point, of course, is that "cultural" beliefs and actions are themselves (rational) responses to the material conditions in which groups find themselves, and that "culture" has little permanence itself so long as it is not sustained by these material conditions.
    - You should by now immediately recognize the elements of Marxian and Parsonian theory in these positions. What are they, and what evidence do Steinberg and Sowell present to support their views? Why does Steinberg say that the culturalist position "inverts cause and effect" (p. 122)?
    - If the "ethnic backlash" is not prejudice, according to Steinberg, then what is it? Why does he devote so much of the chapter to a history of the black occupational structure and migration?

- Do anti-culturalist arguments adequately account for group solidarity under a variety of conditions - affluence and poverty, discrimination and favoritism? What alternatives to "culture" and class conflict theories might there be? (Hint: keep this question in mind over the next two meetings.)

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Themes for Next Meeting

Mar. 5 - Explaining Racial and Ethnic Differences in America: William Julius Wilson

- Wilson clearly takes theoretical questions very seriously in his treatment of historical issues - not just racial inequality, but also class structure; but one of the merits of his account is his willingness to let what Weber calls "uncomfortable facts" obtrude on his own theoretical constructions. Thus, while he steadily argues against the culturalist explanations for racial inequality offered by many theorists of "ethnicity" (often neo-conservatives) and the accounts which give causal primacy to racial discrimination suggested by many black leaders and scholars, he also argues against historically invariant class-based principles supported by many Marxist analysts.

- If Wilson argues from "materialist" principles, does this mean he is a Marxist? Are there non-Marxist materialist accounts?
  - How do the structural principles which determine racial inequality vary for each of the three periods of American history which he identifies?
  - Recall how Sowell and Steinberg defined discrimination. Does Wilson present an historically invariant description of its character, or of its effects? When was it most important; who were its main propagators; and how was it institutionalized (if at all) in each historical period? Why does Wilson say that racial discrimination is hardly a problem any more? Does this mean it no longer exists?
  - What is the role of political organization and governmental policy in Wilson's account? Again, they vary historically: but how? If state policy was racially discriminatory in earlier periods, why has it become anti-discriminatory in the present period? Recall that Marxists would analyze which group(s) controlled the state: Does Wilson indicate that various white groups changed their minds?

- Recall Aycoberry's descriptions of theories of asynchronism and also (to a lesser extent) theories of uneven development. Wilson does not discuss these concepts at length in the chapters we read here, but they provide one of the most interesting set of concepts with which to analyze historical changes.
  - Note, for instance, his description of the variation of black class structure by age in the present historical period - and in principle, in other periods as well. If a certain amount of historical change is occurring by generational replacement, and older generations remain strongly affected by the experiences of their youth, what does this imply about the effect of historical factors (e.g., past discrimination, earlier occupational structure, etc.) on present conditions?

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Themes for Next Meeting

Mar. 7 - Explaining Racial and Ethnic Differences in America: Stanley Lieberson

- Like Wilson, Lieberson argues against inflating the causal significance of cultural attributes or discrimination in producing inequality between American racial and ethnic groups. However, his methodological approach seems less strongly opposed in principle, but rather attempts to explain as much as possible without reference to such factors and to argue that the unexplained residual contains cultural attributes and discrimination - and that their importance might be further reduced by adducing additional factors. And while Wilson is clearly interested in evaluating comprehensive social theories like those of Marx and Weber, Lieberson tends to cast his account in terms of more immediate "structural conditions" (see p. 381) of individuals and groups, drawn from a variety of theoretical sources - among them, demography, population ecology, economics, conflict theories, and others. In fact, he was criticized at the 1982 annual meetings of the American Sociological Association by Edna Bonacich and Stephen Steinberg for not relating his findings to "higher level" theories (see their own positions in the works on the reading list). Wilson, however, defended him, saying that if Lieberson had neglected macro-level theory, he had still advanced important structural explanations. How much, if at all, do you think Lieberson's account suffers because of this orientation?

- Even if Lieberson does not mention Marx, Weber, or Parsons, he clearly intends his account to be comprehensive at its own level. Be sure to follow his arguments: note, for instance, the four approaches he lists on p. 14. How does he criticize the culturalist approach and that based on discrimination?
  - What is his theory of "intrinsic differences?" How do the reasons for migration and starting position affect later inequality?
  - What is the significance of "queuing" theory? The theory of occupational niches? The historical conditions of immigration, its duration, the timing of initiation and cessation, the rate of growth of the immigrant group? How do these factors interact, and what are their results?
  - How do these factors affect intergroup contact, conflict, and prejudice? What are the relations among these latter three factors? Why are some immigrant groups less threatening to native groups than others? Again - what explains group cohesion?

- Can Lieberson's account be subsumed under one or a combination of the macro theories we have considered, after all? Consider the latter again as "systems" theories, and Lieberson's possible place in them.

Oxford University
POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

I. Introductory and General

T. Bottomore, Political Sociology
L.A. Coser (ed.), Political Sociology
R. Dahl, Modern Political Analysis
R.E. Dowse & J.A. Hughes, Political Sociology
I.L. Horowitz, Foundations of Political Sociology
A. Pizzorno (ed.), Political Sociology
W.G. Runciman, Social Science and Political Theory
M. Rush & P. Althoff, Political Sociology

II. Classical Texts and Commentaries

P. Anderson, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci", New Left Review, 100.
R. Aron, Main Currents in Sociological Thought
D. Beetham, Max Weber and The Theory of Modern Politics
T. Bottomore & R. Nisbet (eds.), A History of Sociological Analysis
L. Feuer (ed.), Marx and Engels, Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy
S. Finer (ed.), Vilfredo Pareto, Sociological Writings
A. Giddens, Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: Politics and Sociology in the Thought of Max Weber
A. Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks (ed. Q. Hoare & G. Nowell-Smith)
A. Gramsci, Selections from the Political Writings, 1910-1920 (ed. Q. Hoare)
J.F. Lively, The Social and Political Thought of Alexandre de Tocqueville
R. Michels, Political Parties
R. Miliband, Marxism and Politics
W.J. Mommsen, The Age of Bureaucracy
G. Mosca, The Ruling Class
R.A. Nye, The Anti-Democratic Sources of Elite Theory: Pareto, Mosca, Michels (Sage Professional Paper, 06 021, vol.2)
A. de Tocqueville, Democracy in America
M. Weber,"Economy and Society", from Max Weber (ed. Gerth & Mills)

III. Distribution and Sources of Political Power

1. General

A. Arendt, "What is Authority?", in H. Arendt, Between Past and Future
P. Bachrach & M.S. Baratz, Power and Poverty in Theory and Practice
B. Barry (ed.), Power and Political Theory
T. Bottomore, Elites and Society
T.R. Burns & W. Buckley (eds.), Power and Control
D. Cartwright, "A Field Theoretical Conception of Power", in D. Cartwright (ed.) Studies in Social Power
J. Gray, "On the essential contestability of some social and political concepts", Political Theory, 1977.
R. Friedmann, "On the Concept of Authority in Political Philosophy", in R. Flathman (ed.), Concepts in Social and Political Philosophy
J. Habermas, "Hannah Arendt's Communications Concept of Power", Social Research, vol. 44, no. 1: Legitimation Crisis
H. Lasswell & A Kaplan, Power and Society
W. Luhmann, Trust and Power
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Oxford University
Second Public Examination
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Political Sociology

1. How well does Michels' analysis of the 'political incorporation' of socialist parties explain the rise of Eurocommunism?

2. To what extent do recent voting studies support the contention that class is no longer a reliable predictor of voting behaviour?

3. 'Class politics are positive-sum and tractable. Ethnic and religious politics are zero-sum and intractable.' Is this generally valid?

4. Why are the military not in power everywhere?

5. 'Recent contributions to the political sociology of the state are little more than sophisticated conspiracy theories.' Discuss.

6. Consider the assertion that fascism was an 'historically specific' inter-war phenomenon.

7. 'A concept of power that does not lend itself to empirical validation or refutation can have no explanatory value.' Do you agree?

8. How can the evidence for political socialization be squared with the facts of political change?

9. Is it ever rational to vote?

10. Discuss the view that there can be no 'theory' of revolution, only a set of accounts about particular revolutions.

11. Is it useful to assume that bureaucracies are principally devoted to their own self-aggrandizement?

12. 'Community power studies tell us little about the wider political system because society is not simply the community writ large.' Discuss.

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